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A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

EUROPEANS

IN THE

EAST AND WEST INDIES.

BY THE ABBE RAYNAL.

WITH A

New Set of Maps adapted to the Work, and a copious Index.

Volume fifth.

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BOOK XIV.

SETTLEMENT OF THE ENGLISH IN THE AMERICAN ISLANDS.

A NEW order of things now opens itſelf to our view. England is, in modern hiſtory, the country of great political phenomena. It is there that we have ſeen liberty the moſt violently combating with deſpotiſm, ſometimes trampled under its feet, at other times victorious in its turn. It is there that its triumph has been completed; which every thing, even the fanaticiſm of religion, hath concurred in bringing about. There it is, that one king, juridically brought to the ſcaffold, and another depoſed, with his whole race, by the decree of the nation, have given a great leſſon to the earth. There it is, that in the midſt of civil commotions, and in the intervals of momentary tranquillity, we have ſeen the exact and deep ſciences carried to their greateſt perfection; we have ſeen the minds of men accuſtomed to reaſon, to reflect, and to turn their attention particularly to government. It is there, in a word, that, after long and violent ſtruggles, that conſtitution hath been formed, which, if it be not perfect, and free from all inconveniencies, is, at leaſt, the moſt happily ſuited to the ſituation of the country; the moſt favourable to its trade; the beſt calculated to unfold genius, eloquence, and all the powers of the human mind; the only

conſtitution, perhaps, ſince man hath lived in a ſocial ſtate, where the laws have ſecured to him his dignity, his perſonal liberty, and his freedom of thought; where, in a word, they have made him a citizen, that is to ſay, a conſtituent and integral part of the conſtitution of the ſtate and of the nation.

The ſtate of England when ſhe began to form ſettlements in the American iſlands.

ENGLAND had not yet diſplayed to the world this great ſcene, when her ſettlements in the archipelago of America were firſt begun. Her agriculture was not extended either to flax or hemp. The attempts that had been made to raiſe mulberry-trees, and breed ſilk-worms, had been unſucceſsful. The labours of the huſbandman were wholly engaged in the growing of corn, which, notwithſtanding the turn of the nation for rural employments, was ſeldom ſufficient for home conſumption, and many of their granaries were ſtored from the fields bordering on the Baltic.

Induſtry was ſtill leſs advanced than agriculture. It was confined to woollen manufactures. Theſe had been increaſed ſince the exportation of unwrought wool had been prohibited; but theſe iſlanders, who ſeemed to work only for themſelves, were ignorant of the method of ſpreading thoſe elegant ornaments upon their ſtuffs, which taſte contrived, to promote the ſale and conſumption of them. They ſent their cloths over to Holland, where the Dutch gave them their colouring and gloſs; from whence they circulated all over Europe, and were even brought back to England.

Navigation ſcarce employed, at that time, ten thouſand ſailors. Theſe were in the ſervice of excluſive companies, which had engroſſed every branch of trade, not excepting that of woollen cloth, which alone conſtituted a tenth part of the commercial riches of the nation. Theſe, therefore, were centered in the hands of three or four hundred perſons, who agreed, for their own advantage, to fix the price of goods, both at going out and coming into the kingdom. The privileges of theſe monopolizers were exerciſed in the capital, where the court ſold the provinces. London

alone had ſix times the number of ſhips that all the other ports of England had.

The public revenue neither was nor could be very conſiderable. It was farmed out; a ruinous method, which has preceded the eſtabliſhment of finance in all ſtates, but has only been continued under arbitrary governments. The expences were proportionable to the low ſtate of the treaſury. The fleet was ſmall, and the ſhips ſo weak, that in times of neceſſity the merchantmen were turned into men of war. A hundred and ſixty thouſand militia, which was the whole military ſtrength of the nation, were armed in time of war. There were no ſtanding forces in time of peace, and the king himſelf had no guards.

With ſuch confined powers at home, the nation ſhould not have ventured to extend itſelf in ſettlements abroad. Notwithſtanding this, ſome colonies were eſtabliſhed, which laid a ſolid foundation of proſperity. The origin of theſe ſettlements was owing to certain events, the cauſes of which may be traced very far back.

Cauſes which haſtened the population of the Britiſh iſlands.

WHOEVER is acquainted with the hiſtory and progreſs of the Engliſh government, knows that the regal authority was for a long time balanced only by a ſmall number of great proprietors of land called barons. They perpetually oppreſſed the people, the greater part of whom were degraded by ſlavery; and they were conſtantly ſtruggling againſt the power of the crown, with more or leſs ſucceſs, according to the character of the leading men, and the chance of circumſtances. Theſe political diſſenſions occaſioned much bloodſhed.

The kingdom was exhauſted by inteſtine wars, which had laſted two hundred years, when Henry VII aſſumed the reins of government on the deciſion of a battle in which the nation, divided into two camps, had fought to give itſelf a maſter. That able prince availed himſelf of the ſtate of depreſſion into which a ſeries of calamities had ſunk his ſubjects, to extend the regal authority, the limits of which, the anarchy of the feudal government, though continually encroaching upon them, had never been able to fix. He was aſſiſted in this undertaking by the faction which had

placed the crown upon his head, and which, being the weakeſt, could not hope to maintain itſelf in the principal employments to which thoſe who were engaged in it had been raiſed, unleſs they ſupported the ambition of their leader. This plan was ſtrengthened, by permitting the nobility, for the firſt time, to alienate their lands. This dangerous indulgence, joined to a taſte for luxury, which then began to prevail in Europe, brought on a great revolution in the fortunes of individuals. The immenſe fiefs of the barons were gradually diſſipated, and the eſtates of the commoners increaſed.

The rights belonging to the ſeveral eſtates being divided with the property of them, it became ſo much the more difficult to unite the will and the power of many againſt the authority of one. The monarchs took advantage of this period, ſo favourable to their ambition, to govern without controul. The decayed nobility were in fear of a power which they had reinforced with all their loſſes. The commons thought themſelves ſufficiently honoured by the privilege of impoſing all the national taxes. The people, in ſome degree eaſed of their yoke, by this ſlight alteration in the conſtitution, and whoſe circle of ideas is always confined to buſineſs or labour, became tired of ſeditions, from the deſolation and miſeries which were the conſequence and the puniſhment of them. So that, while the nation was employed in ſearch of that ſovereign authority which had been loſt in the confuſion of civil wars, its views were fixed upon the monarch alone. The majeſty of the throne, the whole luſtre of which was centered in him, ſeemed to be the ſource of that authority, of which it ſhould only be the viſible ſign and permanent inſtrument.

Such was the ſituation of England, when James I was called thither from Scotland, as being ſole heir of the two kingdoms, which, by his acceſſion, were united under one head. A turbulent nobility, imparting their fury to their barbarous vaſſals, had kindled the fire of ſedition in thoſe northern mountains which divided the iſland into two diſtinct ſtates. The monarch had, from his earlieſt years, been as averſe from limited authority, as the people were from deſpotiſm and abſolute monarchy, which then prevailed all over Europe; and, as the new king was equal to

other ſovereigns, it was natural that he ſhould be ambitious of the ſame power. His predeceſſors had enjoyed it, even in England, for a century paſt. But he was not aware that they owed it to their own political abilities, or to favourable circumſtances. This religious prince, who believed he held all from God and nothing from men, fancied that ſtrength of reaſon, wiſdom, and council, was centered in himſelf, and ſeemed to arrogate to himſelf that infallibility of which the pope had been deprived by the reformation, the tenets of which he adopted, though he diſliked them. Theſe falſe principles, which tended to change government into a myſtery of religion, the more odious, as it equally influences the opinions, wills, and actions, of men, were ſo rooted in his mind, together with all the other prejudices of a bad education, that he did not even think of ſupporting them with any of the human aids of prudence or force.

Nothing could be more repugnant to the general diſpoſition of the people than this ſyſtem. All was in commotion both at home and abroad. The diſcovery of America had haſtened the advancement of Europe. Navigation extended round the whole globe. The mutual intercourſe of nations would ſoon have removed prejudices, and opened the door to induſtry and knowledge. The mechanical and liberal arts were extended, and were advancing to perfection by the luxury that prevailed. Literature acquired the ornaments of taſte; and the ſciences gained that degree of ſolidity which ſprings from a ſpirit of calculation and commerce. The circle of politics was extended. This univerſal ferment exalted the ideas of men. The ſeveral bodies which compoſed the monſtrous Coloſſus of Gothic government, rouſed from that lethargic ſtate of ignorance in which they had been ſunk for many ages, ſoon began to exert themſelves on all ſides, and to form enterpriſes. On the continent, where mercenary troops had been adopted, under pretence of maintaining diſcipline, moſt princes acquired an unlimited authority, oppreſſing their ſubjects either by force or intrigue. In England, the love of liberty, ſo natural to every feeling or thinking man, excited in the people by the authors of religious innovations, and awakened in the minds of men, enlightened by becoming converſant with the great writers

of antiquity, who derived from their democratic government that ſublimity of reaſon and ſentiment by which they are diſtinguiſhed; this love of liberty kindled in every generous breaſt the utmoſt abhorrence for unlimited authority. The aſcendant which Elizabeth found means to acquire and to preſerve, by an uninterrupted proſperity of forty years, withheld this impatience, or turned it to enterpriſes that were beneficial to the ſtate. But no ſooner did another branch aſcend the throne, and the ſceptre devolve to a monarch, who, by the very violence of his pretenſions, was not much to be dreaded, than the nation aſſerted its rights, and entertained the ambitious thoughts of governing itſelf.

It was at this period that warm diſputes aroſe between the court and the parliament. Both powers ſeemed to be making trial of their ſtrength by continual oppoſition. The prince pretended, that an entire paſſive obedience was due to him; and that national aſſemblies were only the ornaments, not the baſis, of the conſtitution. The citizens loudly exclaimed againſt theſe principles, always weak when they come to be diſcuſſed; and maintained, that the people were an eſſential part of government, as well as the monarch, and, perhaps, in a higher degree. The one is the matter, the other the form. Now, the form may, and muſt change, for the preſervation of the matter. The ſupreme law is the welfare of the people, not that of the prince; the king may die, the monarchy may be at an end, and ſociety ſubſiſt without either monarch or throne. In this manner the Engliſh reaſoned at the dawn of liberty. They quarrelled, they oppoſed, and threatened each other. James died in the midſt of theſe debates, leaving his ſon to diſcuſs his rights, with the reſolution of extending them.

The experience of all ages has ſhewn, that the ſtate of tranquillity which follows the eſtabliſhment of abſolute power, occaſions a coolneſs in the minds of the people, damps their courage, cramps their genius, and throws a whole nation into an univerſal lethargy. But let us explain the ſucceſſive progreſſion of this miſery; and let the people be acquainted with the profound ſtate of annihilation into which they are ſunk, or with which they are menaced.

As ſoon as the great object, which men only view with fear and trembling, hath been raiſed up in the midſt of the nation, the ſubjects are divided into two claſſes. One of them keeps at a diſtance, from fear; the other approaches this object, from ambition; and the latter flatters itſelf with ſecurity, from the conſciouſneſs of its meanneſs. It forms, between the deſpot and the reſt of the nation, an order of ſubaltern tyrants, not leſs ſuſpicious, and more cruel, than their maſter. One hears nothing from them but theſe words: the king hath ſaid it; it is the king's pleaſure; I have ſeen the king; I have ſupped with the king; it is the king's intention. Theſe words are always liſtened to with aſtoniſhment; and they are ſoon conſidered as the orders of the ſovereign. Should there be any energy remaining, it is among the military, whoſe ſenſe of their own importance only ſerves to make them more inſolent. What part doth the prieſt act in this conjuncture? If he be in favour, he completes the ſlaviſhneſs and degeneracy of the people by his example and by his diſcourſes: if he be neglected, he grows out of humour, becomes factious, and ſeeks out ſome fanatic, who will ſacrifice himſelf to his views. In all parts where there are no fixed laws, no juſtice, no unalterable forms, no real property, the influence of the magiſtrate is little or nothing: he waits only for a ſignal to become whatever one may chooſe. The great nobleman cringes before the prince, and the people cringe before the great nobleman. The natural dignity of man is eclipſed; and he hath not the leaſt idea of his rights. Around the deſpot, his agents and his favourites, the ſubjects are cruſhed under foot, with the ſame inadvertence that we cruſh the inſects which ſwarm among the duſt of our fields. The morals are become corrupt. There comes a time when the moſt inordinate vexations, and the moſt unheard-of outrages, loſe their atrocious character, and no longer excite horror. Any one who ſhould pronounce the names of virtue, of patriotiſm, and of equity, would only be conſidered as a man of too much warmth; an expreſſion which always implies an abject indulgence of crimes by which we profit. The body of the nation becomes diſſolute and ſuperſtitious; for deſpotiſm cannot be eſtabliſhed without the interference of ſuperſtition, nor be maintained without its ſupport; and

ſervitude leads on to debauchery, which affords ſome relief to the mind, and is never ſuppreſſed. Men of information, if there be any of them remaining, have their views; they pay their court to the great, and profeſs the religion of policy. Tyranny, leading on in its train a number of ſpies and informers, theſe are conſequently to be found in all ſtates, not excepting the moſt diſtinguiſhed of them. The leaſt indiſcretion aſſuming the hue of high treaſon, enemies are very dangerous, and friends become ſuſpicious. Men think little, ſay nothing, and are afraid of reaſoning: they are even alarmed at their own ideas. The philoſopher keeps his thoughts to himſelf, as the rich man conceals his treaſure. The man who leads the beſt life is the moſt unknown. Miſtruſt and terror form the baſis of the general manners. The citizens live ſeparate from each other; and the whole nation becomes melancholy, puſillanimous, ſtupid, and ſilent. Such is the ſeries, ſuch the fatal ſymptoms, or the ſcale of miſery, by which every nation may learn the degree of its own wretchedneſs.

If, in lieu of the preceding phenomena, we imagine others that are directly contrary, they will indicate that motion of legiſlative bodies which tends to liberty. It is diſorderly, it is rapid, it is violent. It is a fever, more or leſs ardent, but always attended with convulſions. Every thing announces ſedition and murders. Every thing makes the people tremble, leſt a general diſſolution ſhould take place; and if they be not deſtined to experience this laſt evil, it is in blood that their felicity muſt revive.

England experienced this in the beginning of the reign of Charles I, who, though not ſo great a pedant as his father, was equally fond of authority. The diviſion which had begun between the king and the parliament, ſpread itſelf throughout the nation. The higheſt claſs of the nobility, and the ſecond, which was the richeſt, afraid of being confounded with the vulgar, engaged on the ſide of the king, from whom they derived that borrowed luſtre, which they returned him by a voluntary and venal bondage. As they ſtill poſſeſſed moſt of the conſiderable land eſtates, they engaged almoſt all the country people in their party; who naturally love the king, becauſe they think he muſt love them. London, and all the great towns, inſpired by municipal government with the republican ſpirit, declared

for the parliament, and drew along with them the trading part of the nation, who, valuing themſelves as much as the merchants in Holland, aſpired to the ſame freedom as that democracy.

Theſe diviſions brought on the ſharpeſt, the moſt bloody, and the moſt obſtinate, civil war ever recorded in hiſtory. Never did the Engliſh ſpirit ſhew itſelf in ſo dreadful a manner. Every day exhibited freſh ſcenes of violence, which ſeemed to have been already carried to the higheſt exceſs; and theſe again were outdone by others, ſtill more atrocious. It ſeemed as if the nation was juſt upon the brink of deſtruction, and that every Briton had ſworn to bury himſelf under the ruins of his country.

By what men the Britiſh iſlands were peopled.

In this general tumult, the moſt moderate ſought for a peaceable retreat in the American iſlands, which the Engliſh had lately ſeized upon. The tranquillity they found there, induced others to follow them. While the ſedition was ſpreading in the mother-country, the colonies grew up and were peopled. The patriots who had fled from faction were ſoon after joined by the royaliſts, who were oppreſſed by the republican party, which had at laſt prevailed.

Both theſe were followed by thoſe reſtleſs and ſpirited men, whoſe ſtrong paſſions inſpire them with great deſires and vaſt projects; who deſpiſe dangers, hazards, and fatigues, and wiſh to ſee no other end to them but death or fortune; who know of no medium between affluence and want; equally calculated to overturn or to ſerve their country, to lay it waſte or to enrich it.

The iſlands were alſo the refuge of merchants who had been unfortunate in trade, or were reduced by their creditors to a ſtate of indigence and idleneſs. Unable as they were to fulfil their engagements, this very misfortune paved the way to their proſperity. After a few years they returned with affluence into their own country, and met with the higheſt reſpect in thoſe very places from whence they had been baniſhed with ignominy and contempt.

This reſource was ſtill more neceſſary for young people, who in the firſt tranſports of youth had been drawn into exceſſes of debauchery and licentiouſneſs. If they had not

quitted their country, ſhame and diſgrace, which never fail to depreſs the mind, would have prevented them from recovering either regularity of manners or public eſteem. But, in another country, where the experience they had of vice might prove a leſſon of wiſdom, and where they had no occaſion to attempt to remove any unfavourable impreſſions, they found, after their misfortunes, a harbour in which they reſted with ſafety. Their induſtry made amends for their paſt follies; and men who had left Europe like vagabonds, and who had diſgraced it, returned honeſt men, and uſeful members of ſociety.

All theſe ſeveral coloniſts had at their diſpoſal, for the clearing and tilling of their lands, the moſt profligate ſet of men of the three kingdoms, who had deſerved death for capital crimes; but who, from motives of humanity and good policy, were ſuffered to live and to work for the benefit of the ſtate. Theſe malefactors, who were tranſported for a term of years, which they were to ſpend in ſlavery, became induſtrious, and acquired manners, which placed them once more in the way of fortune. There were ſome of thoſe, who, when reſtored to ſociety by the freedom they had gained, became planters, heads of families, and the owners of the beſt plantations; a proof how much it is for the intereſt of a civilized ſociety to admit this lenity in the penal laws, ſo conformable to human nature, which is frail, but capable of ſenſibility, and of turning from evil to good.

Under what form of government the Britiſh iſlands were eſtabliſhed.

The mother-country, however, was too much taken up with its own domeſtic diſſenſions, to think of giving laws to the iſlands under its dominion; and the coloniſts were not ſufficiently enlightened to draw up ſuch a ſyſtem of legiſlation as was fit for an infant ſociety. While the civil war was rectifying the government in England, the colonies, juſt emerging from a ſtate of infancy, formed their own conſtitution upon the model of the mother-country. In each of theſe ſeparate ſettlements, a chief repreſents the king; a council, the peers; and the deputies of the ſeveral diſtricts, the commons. The general aſſembly enacts laws, regulates taxes, and judges of the adminiſtration. The executive

part belongs to the governor; who alſo occaſionally determines upon cauſes which have not been tried before, but in conjunction with the council, and by the majority of votes. But as the members of this body derive their rank from him, it is ſeldom that they thwart his deſigns.

Great Britain, to reconcile her own intereſts with the freedom of her colonies, took care that no laws ſhould be enacted there which were inconſiſtent with their own. She hath required that her delegates ſhould take an oath, that in the places ſubject to their authority, they would never allow, upon any pretence whatever, any deviation from the regulations eſtabliſhed for the proſperity of her trade. This tie of an oath hath been contrived, becauſe, as the iſlands themſelves regulate and pay the greater part of the ſalaries of their chiefs, it was to be apprehended that ſome of theſe commanders might endeavour to excite liberality by their indulgence. Another check hath been put to corruption. It is neceſſary that the ſtipend granted to the governor, ſhould extend to the whole duration of his adminiſtration; and that it ſhould be the object of the firſt bill paſſed on his arrival. Theſe precautions have however appeared inſufficient to ſome perſons of a deſpotic turn of mind. Accordingly, it hath been their opinion, to proſcribe a cuſtom, which in ſome meaſure made thoſe who iſſue orders dependent upon men who were ſubordinate to them; but the parliament have always refuſed to make this alteration. Juſtly dreading that ſpirit of rapaciouſneſs which induces men to croſs the ſeas, they have always kept up a cuſtom which they think proper to check the ſpirit of cupidity and tyranny. It is with the ſame view that they have decreed againſt thoſe governors who ſhould violate the laws of the colonies, the ſame penalties as are inflicted in England on thoſe who treſpaſs upon the national conſtitution.

The parliament have likewiſe empowered the iſlands, to have in the mother-country deputies appointed to take care of their intereſts. Their principal duty is to obtain the confirmation of the ſtatutes paſſed in the colonies. Theſe acts are executed proviſionally: but they do not paſs into a law till they have been approved of by the ſovereign. This ſanction once obtained, they can only be revoked by an aſſembly of the colony itſelf, or by the parliament; which exerciſes ſupreme authority over the whole empire.

The buſineſs of the agents of the iſlands at London, is the ſame as that of the repreſentatives of the people in the Britiſh ſenate. Unhappy will it be for the ſtate, if ever it ſhould diſregard the clamours of the repreſentatives, whoever they may be. The counties in England would riſe; the colonies would ſhake off their allegiance in America; the treaſures of both worlds would be loſt to the mother-country, and the whole empire would fall into confuſion.

The ſources of public felicity have not yet been corrupted by this improper ſpirit. The ſettlements formed in the Weſt Indies have been always attached to their own country by the ties of blood, and by thoſe of neceſſity. Their planters have been conſtantly looking up to their mother-country, who is ever attentive to their preſervation and their improvement. One might ſay, that as the eagle, who never loſes ſight of the neſt where ſhe foſters her young, London ſeems to look down upon her colonies, and to ſee them grow up and proſper under her tender care. Her numberleſs veſſels, covering an extent of two thouſand leagues with their proud ſails, form, as it were, a bridge over the ocean; by which they keep up an uninterrupted communication between both worlds. With good laws, which maintain what ſhe has once eſtabliſhed, ſhe preſerves her poſſeſſions abroad without a ſtanding army, which is always an oppreſſive and ruinous burden. Two very ſmall corps, fixed at Antigua and Jamaica, are ſufficient for a nation which thinks, with reaſon, that maritime forces, well maintained, kept in continual employment, and always directed towards the public good, are the true fortifications of theſe uſeful ſettlements.

By theſe beneficent regulations, dictated by humanity and ſound policy, the Engliſh iſlands ſoon grew happy, though not rich. Their culture was confined to tobacco, cotton, ginger, and indigo. Some of the enterpriſing coloniſts imported ſugar canes from Braſil, and they multiplied prodigiouſly, but to no great purpoſe. They were ignorant of the art of managing this valuable plant, and drew from it ſuch indifferent ſugar, that it was either rejected in Europe, or ſold at the loweſt price. A ſeries of voyages to Fernambucca taught them how to make uſe of the treaſure they had carried off; and the Portugueſe, who till then had engroſſed all the ſugar trade, found, in 1650,

in an ally, whoſe induſtry they thought precarious, a rival who was one day to ſupplant them.

Means employed by the mother-country to ſecure to itſelf all the productions of the iſlands.

THE mother-country, however, had but a very ſmall ſhare in the proſperity of her colonies. They themſelves ſent their own commodities directly to all parts of the world, where they thought they would be diſpoſed of to moſt advantage; and indiſcriminately admitted ſhips of all nations into their ports. This unlimitted freedom muſt of courſe throw almoſt all their trade into the hands of that nation which, in conſequence of the low intereſt their money bears, the largeneſs of their ſtock, the number of their ſhips, and the reaſonableneſs of their duties of import and export, could afford to make the beſt terms, to buy at the deareſt, and ſell at the cheapeſt rate. Theſe people were the Dutch. They united all the advantages of a ſuperior army; which, being ever maſter of the field, is free in all its operations. They ſoon ſeized upon the profits of ſo many productions, which they had neither planted nor gathered. Ten of their ſhips were ſeen in the Britiſh iſlands to one Engliſh veſſel.

The nation had paid little attention to this evil during the diſturbances of the civil wars, but as ſoon as theſe troubles were compoſed, and the ſtate reſtored to tranquillity by the very violence of its commotions, it began to turn its views towards its foreign poſſeſſions. It perceived that thoſe ſubjects, who had as it were taken refuge in America, would be loſt to the ſtate, if foreign powers, which conſumed the fruits of the induſtry of the colonies, were not excluded. The deliberate and weighty diſcuſſion of this point brought on the famous navigation act in 1651, which excluded all foreign ſhips from entering the harbours of the Engliſh iſlands, and conſequently obliged their produce to be exported directly to the countries under the dominion of England. The government, though aware of the inconveniencies of ſuch an excluſion, was not alarmed at it, but conſidered the empire only as a tree, the ſap of which muſt be turned back to the trunk, when it flows too freely to ſome of the branches.

However, this reſtraining law was not then enforced in

its utmoſt rigour. Perhaps the ſhips belonging to the mother-country were not ſufficiently numerous to carry off all the productions of the iſlands; perhaps, apprehenſions might prevail that the coloniſts might be exaſperated by ſuddenly depriving their coaſts of a competition which increaſed the price of ther commodities. Perhaps, the plantations ſtill required ſome ſupport, in order to bring their cultures to that degree of perfection that was expected. However this may be, it is certain, that the act of navigation was not rigorouſly put in execution till 1660. At this period, the Engliſh ſugars had been ſubſtituted to thoſe of Portugal, in all the northern parts of Europe. It is to be ſuppoſed, that they would equally have ſupplanted them to the ſouth, had not the obligation impoſed upon all the navigators to ſtop at the Britiſh ports before they paſſed the ſtraits of Gibraltar, put an inſurmountable obſtacle to this trade. It is true, that in order to attain this ſuperiority over the only nation that was in poſſeſſion of this commodity, the Engliſh had been obliged greatly to lower the price of it; but their plentiful crops made them ample amends for this neceſſary ſacrifice. If other nations were encouraged by their ſucceſs to raiſe plantations, at leaſt for their own conſumption, the Engliſh opened other markets, which ſupplied the place of the former. The only misfortune they experienced in a long ſeries of years, was, the ſeeing many of their cargoes taken by French privateers, and ſold at a low price. The planter ſuſtained by this a double inconvenience, that of loſing part of his ſugars, and being obliged to ſell the remainder below their value.

Diminution of the advantages which England derived from its iſlands.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe tranſient piracies, which always ceaſed in time of peace, the plantations ſtill continued to increaſe in the Engliſh iſlands. All the productions peculiar to America were more carefully attended to; but the wealthy proprietors attached themſelves more particularly to the culture of ſugar, the ſale of which was conſtantly increaſing throughout all Europe. This proſperity exiſted for the ſpace of half a century, when attentive men perceived that the exportations decreaſed. It was then almoſt generally believed that the colonies were exhauſted; even the

national ſenate adopted this idea, not conſidering that if the ſoil no longer had that degree of fertility peculiar to lands newly cleared, it ſtill retained that ſhare of fruitfulneſs which the earth ſeldom loſes, unleſs its ſubſtance be altered by the calamities or by the irregularities of nature. The truth was ſoon aſcertained, and the Engliſh were obliged to acknowledge, that the foreign marts were inſenſibly ſhut againſt Great Britain, and would ſoon be opened only to France. This kingdom, which, from its natural advantages, and from the active genius of its inhabitants, ſhould be foremoſt in every undertaking, is ſo reſtrained by the nature of its government, that it is the laſt in becoming acquainted with its own intereſts. The French firſt procured their ſugars from the Engliſh. They afterwards made ſome for their own conſumption, then for ſale, till reſtraints of every kind obliged them to confine themſelves merely to what they wanted. It was not till 1716, that their iſlands began again to ſupply other nations. The ſuperiority of their ſoil, the advantage of freſh lands, the frugality of their planters, who were yet poor, all conſpired to enable them to ſell the production at a lower price than their competitors. It was moreover of a better quality; accordingly, as it increaſed, that which was formerly in ſo great requeſt, was rejected in all the markets. Towards the year 1740, the ſugar of the French plantations became ſufficient for general conſumption, and at this period the Engliſh were reduced to cultivate no more than what they wanted for their own uſe. The quantity they made was ſtill very trifling at the beginning of the century, but the uſe of tea, and the habit of other indulgencies, ſoon increaſed prodigiouſly the conſumption of this article.

The Engliſh form a ſettlement at Barbadoes.

Barbadoes was one of the Britiſh poſſeſſions which furniſhed moſt of this commodity. This iſland, which is ſituated to windward of all the reſt, appeared to have never been inhabited even by ſavages, when, in 1627, ſome Engliſh families went to ſettle there, but without any interference of government. It was not till two years after, that a regular colony was eſtabliſhed there, at the expence, and by the care, of the earl of Carliſle, who, on the tragical death of Charles I, was deprived

of a property which had been too imprudently granted him by that weak prince. It was found covered with ſuch large and hard trees, that uncommon reſolution and patience were required to fell them and root them up. The ground was ſoon cleared of this encumbrance, or ſtripped of this ornament: for it is doubtful whether nature does not decorate her work better than man, who alters every thing for himſelf alone. Some patriots, tired of ſeeing the blood of their countrymen ſpilt, went and peopled this foreign land. While the other colonies were rather ravaged than cultivated by thoſe vagabonds who had been driven from their native country by poverty or licentiouſneſs, Barbadoes daily received new inhabitants, who brought along with them not only their ſtock of money, but a turn for labour, courage, activity, and ambition; thoſe vices and virtues which are the effect of civil wars.

By theſe means, an iſland, which is no more than ſeven leagues in length, from two to five in breadth, and eighteen in circumference, attained, in leſs than forty years, to a population of more than a hundred thouſand ſouls, and to a trade that employed four hundred ſhips, of 150 tons burthen each. Never had the earth beheld ſuch a number of planters collected in ſo ſmall a compaſs, or ſo many rich productions raiſed in ſo ſhort a time. The labours, directed by Europeans, were performed by ſlaves purchaſed in Africa, or even ſtolen in America. This new ſpecies of barbarity was but a ruinous kind of prop for a new edifice, and very nearly occaſioned the ſubverſion of it.

Conſpiracy formed by the ſlaves in Barbadoes.

Some Engliſhmen, who had landed on the coaſts of the continent to get ſlaves, were diſcovered by the Caribs, who were the objects of their ſearch. Theſe ſavages fell upon them, and put them all to death or to flight. A young man, who had been long purſued, ran into a wood; where an Indian woman meeting him, ſaved his life, concealed and fed him, and ſome time after conducted him to the ſea-ſide. His companions were lying at anchor there, waiting for the men they miſſed, and ſent the boat to fetch him. His deliverer inſiſted on following him on-board the ſhip. They were no ſooner landed at Barbadoes, but the monſter ſold her who had ſaved

his life, and had beſtowed her heart, as well as her perſon, upon him. To vindicate the honour of the Engliſh nation, one of their poets has recorded this ſhocking inſtance of avarice and perfidy, to be abhorred by poſterity: it has been told in ſeveral languages, and held out to the deteſtation of all foreign nations.

The Indians, who were not bold enough to undertake to revenge themſelves, imparted their reſentment to the negroes, who had ſtronger motives, if poſſible, for hating the Engliſh. The ſlaves unanimouſly vowed the death of their tyrants. This conſpiracy was carried on with ſuch ſecrecy, that, the day before it was to have been carried into execution, the colony had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of it. But, as if generoſity was always to be the virtue of the wretched, one of the leaders of the plot informed his maſter of it. Letters were immediately diſpatched to all the plantations, and came in time to prevent the impending deſtruction. The following night the ſlaves were ſeized in their huts; the moſt guilty were executed at break of day; and this act of ſeverity reduced the reſt to obedience.

Preſent ſtate of Barbadoes.

They have never revolted ſince, and yet the colony hath declined conſiderably from its former proſperity. It ſtill reckons ten thouſand white people, and fifty thouſand negroes; but the crops are not anſwerable to the population. In the moſt favourable ſeaſons, they do not amount to more than twenty millions weight of ſugar, and are very often below ten millions; and yet to obtain this trifling produce, expences are required much more conſiderable than were neceſſary for double the produce in the beginning.

The ſoil of the colony, which is no more than a rock of calcareous ſtone, covered with very little earth, is entirely exhauſted. It is neceſſary to make a deep opening in it every year, and to fill up with manure the holes which have been made. The moſt ordinary of theſe manures is the varec, a ſea-weed which is periodically thrown upon the coaſt by the ſea-tide. The ſugar-canes are planted in this ſea-weed. The natural ſoil is of little more uſe in the growth of them, than the cheſts in which the orange trees are put in Europe.

The ſugar which is produced by theſe cultures, hath

generally ſo little conſiſtence, that it cannot be exported in its raw ſtate, but muſt previouſly be carthed; a method which is not followed in the other Engliſh ſettlements, although it be not prohibited there, as ſeveral writers have advanced. One great proof of its bad quality is, that it is ſooner reduced to molaſſes than anywhere elſe. The droughts, which are ſo frequent at Barbadoes ſince the country hath been entirely laid open, ſerve to complete the misfortunes of the inhabitants of this iſland, which was formerly in ſo flouriſhing a ſtate.

Accordingly, though the taxes do not amount annually to more than 136,291 livres [5,678l. 15s. 10d.] paid by a trifling poll-tax upon the negroes and by ſome other impoſts, the coloniſts are reduced to a ſtate of mediocrity which approaches to indigence. This ſituation prevents them from leaving the care of their plantations to agents, in order to go and inhabit milder climates. It even renders them inhuman towards their ſlaves, whom they treat with a degree of cruelty unknown in the other colonies.

Barbadoes was very lately the only trading poſſeſſion belonging to the Engliſh in the Windward iſlands. The ſhips coming from Africa uſed generally to put in there. They delivered their cargo to one ſingle purchaſer, and at a ſettled price, without diſtinction of either age or ſex in the bargain. Theſe negroes, thus bought in the wholeſale way by the merchants, were ſold in retail in the iſland itſelf, or in the other Engliſh ſettlements, and the refuſe of them was either clandeſtinely or openly introduced in the colonies of the other nations. This great trade hath conſiderably decreaſed. Hence moſt of the other Britiſh iſlands have choſen to receive their ſlaves directly from Guinea, and have ſubmitted to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of paying for them with bills of exchange at ninety days ſight. This credit, which was inſufficient, hath ſince been extended to a twelvemonth, and it hath frequently been neceſſary to prolong it even beyond that term.

Before this revolution, a conſiderable quantity of ſpecie was in circulation at Barbadoes. The little coin which is at preſent ſtill found there, is Spaniſh; it is conſidered as merchandize, and is only taken by weight. The navy which is appropriated to this ſettlement conſiſts of a few veſſels, which are neceſſary for its ſeveral correſpondences,

and of about forty ſloops, employed in the fiſhery of the flying-fiſh.

Barbadoes is generally even, and every where ſuſceptible of cultivation, except in a very ſmall number of hollow ways. It is only at the centre that the territory riſes imperceptibly, and forms a kind of mountain, covered up to its ſummit with plantations equally convenient and agreeable, becauſe they were all eſtabliſhed in times of great opulence. The iſland is not watered with rivers, but ſprings of water fit for drinking are rather common in it; and it is interſected from one end to another by very fine roads. Theſe all terminate at Bridgetown; a town badly ſituated but well built, where the commodities deſtined for exportation are embarked, although it be only a road open to ſeveral winds.

Is Barbadoes capable of making a good defence.

THE colony, divided into eleven pariſhes, doth not afford one poſt where an enemy, once landed, could be ſtopped; and the landing, which is not poſſible in ſeveral parts of the coaſt, is very practicable in others, notwithſtanding the redoubts and batteries planted to prevent it. Military men think, that the ſureſt way of ſucceeding in an attack, would be to make it between the capital and the town of Hole-town.

This enterpriſe would require more conſiderable forces than might be imagined, conſidering that Barbadoes hath no regular troops. It is filled with planters of ſmall ſtature, brave and active, accuſtomed to military exerciſes, and who probably would make ſcarce leſs reſiſtance than a mercenary army. The armament deſtined for this conqueſt ſhould be diſpatched from Europe; if it were formed at Martinico, or at any other ſettlement ſituated to leeward, the Engliſh ſquadrons which would be in thoſe latitudes, might block up the port where the expedition was preparing, or might arrive at Barbadoes time enough to diſturb the operations of the beſiegers.

This iſland is to the windward of all the others, and yet no great advantage can be reaped from its poſition, conſidered in a military light. It hath only ſuch harbours as are fit to receive veſſels that come to trade there; and though it be leſs expoſed to ſtorms and to hurricanes than

the neighbouring latitudes, it doth not offer at any time a ſecure aſylum to men of war, and ſtill leſs during the laſt ſix months of the year, when the ſea is more tempeſtuous. The mother-country hath therefore formed no naval eſtabliſhment upon it. The national ſquadrons are never ſtationed there; and if any of them ſometimes appear, it is only for a little while. Thus it was, that, in 1761 and in 1762, during the fine weather in the months of January and February, the fleets deſtined for the conqueſt of Martinico and of the Havannah were aſſembled there.

Events at Antigua. Productions, expences, and importance, of it.

ANTIGUA, which hath a circular form, and is about twenty miles long, was found totally uninhabited by thoſe few Frenchmen who fled thither in 1628, upon being driven from St. Chriſtopher's by the Spaniards. The want of ſprings, which doubtleſs was the reaſon why no ſavages had ſettled there, induced thoſe fugitives to return, as ſoon as they could regain their former habitations. Some Engliſhmen, more enterpriſing than either the French or the Caribs, flattered themſelves that they ſhould overcome this great obſtacle, by collecting the rain-water in ciſterns; and they therefore ſettled there. The year in which this ſettlement was begun is not exactly known; but it appears that in January 1640 there were about thirty families on the iſland.

The number was not much increaſed, when lord Willoughby, to whom king Charles II had granted the property of Antigua, ſent over a conſiderable number of inhabitants at his own expence in 1666. It is probable they would never have enriched themſelves by the culture of tobacco, indigo, and ginger, the only commodities they dealt in, had not Colonel Codrington introduced into the iſland, which was then reſtored to the dominion of the ſtate, a ſource of wealth, in the year 1680, by the culture of ſugar. This being at firſt black, harſh, and coarſe, was rejected in England, and could only be diſpoſed of in Holland, and in the Hanſe towns, where it ſold at a much lower price than that of the other colonies. By the moſt aſſiduous labour, art got the better of nature, and brought

this ſugar to as great a perfection, and to ſell for as high a price, as any other.

Every one was then deſirous of extending this culture. In 1741 it employed three thouſand five hundred and thirty-eight white men, and twenty-ſeven thouſand four hundred and eighteen negroes. Since that period, the number of free men hath been much diminiſhed, and that of the ſlaves is conſiderably increaſed. Their united labours produce eighteen or twenty million weight of raw ſugar, and a proportionate quantity of rum. This income is conſiderably leſs in thoſe ſeaſons, which occur too frequently, when the colony is afflicted with drought; and for this reaſon it is very much indebted.

All the tribunals are eſtabliſhed at St. Johns, ſituated to the weſt of the iſland. The greateſt part of the trade hath been likewiſe concentrated in that town. Unfortunately, its port is cloſed up by a bar, upon which there is no more than twelve feet of water. If the depth of water ſhould ſtill decreaſe, the navigators will take in their cargoes to the north of the colony, in the road of Parham, which is much preferable to the one they now frequent, but which is infinitely leſs convenient for the collecting of the commodities.

Motives of great importance ſhould excite England to prevent, by all poſſible means, the decline of ſo valuable a ſettlement. It is the only bulwark of the numerous and ſmall iſlands which that country poſſeſſes in theſe latitudes. They all depend upon Antigua, and upon the Engliſh Harbour, an excellent port, where the naval forces deſigned for their protection, anchor, and where the ſquadrons find collected in arſenals, and in well-ſtocked magazines, the articles neceſſary to carry on their operations. The maintenance of the ſmall fortifications which ſurround the two principal harbours; part of the pay of ſix hundred men, intruſted with their defence; the coſts occaſioned by the artillery; all theſe expences are defrayed by the colony, and abſorb two thirds of the 272,582 livres [11,357l. 11s. 8d.] which it is obliged to require annually from its inhabitants.

This is too great a burthen. In order to diminiſh the weight of it, the aſſembly of the iſland thought of laying a tax upon thoſe proprietors who ſhould reſide in Europe:

but the mother-country annulled a regulation which was evidently injurious to the liberty of individuals. The colony then ordered, that the planters ſhould for the future have only one white man, or two white women, to every ſet of thirty negroes. This law, which was adopted by ſeveral other iſlands, is not much attended to, becauſe it is leſs expenſive to tranſgreſs it, than to maintain free men, whoſe attendance cannot be compelled. The penalties, therefore, which are regulated for puniſhing the tranſgreſſion of this law, are become one of the greateſt reſources of the public treaſury of that ſettlement.

Its legiſlative body hath ſometimes diſplayed a remarkable ſhare of courage. The Engliſh iſlands have no coin which belongs properly to themſelves: that which is circulated there is all foreign. The mother-country thought it neceſſary to ſettle the value of it in the beginning of the century. This arrangement was judged to be contrary to the intereſt of the colony, who themſelves ſettled it upon a higher footing. It was natural to imagine, that parliament would annul an act ſo repugnant to their authority. The lawyers agreed, if that event ſhould take place, never to lend their aſſiſtance to any of thoſe who ſhould have refuſed to accept the coin at the price fixed by the aſſembly.

Another occurrence exhibited, in a ſtill ſtronger light, the kind of ſpirit which prevailed at Antigua. The governor, Colonel Park, ſetting equally at defiance the laws of morality and decency, was unreſtrained and intemperate in all his proceedings. The colony demanded, and obtained, his recal. As he did not ſeem diſpoſed to depart, ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable inhabitants went to expoſtulate with him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, upon this kind of diſobedience. They were repulſed with brutality by his guards. The people took up arms, and the tyrant was attacked in his own houſe, and maſſacred. His body was then thrown naked into the ſtreet, and mutilated by thoſe whoſe bed he had diſhonoured. The mother-country, more moved by the ſacred rights of nature than jealous of her own authority, overlooked an act which her vigilance ought to have prevented, but which ſhe was too equitable to revenge. It is only the part of tyranny to excite a rebellion, and then to quench it in the blood of the oppreſſed.

Machiaveliſm, which teaches princes the art of being feared and deteſted, directs them to ſtifle the victims whoſe cries grow importunate. Humanity preſcribes to kings, juſtice in legiſlation, mildneſs in government, lenity to prevent inſurrections, and mercy to pardon them. Religion enjoins obedience to the people; but God, above all things, requires equity in princes. If they violate it, innumerable witneſſes will riſe up againſt a ſingle man at the final judgment.

The council of Antigua doth not extend its juriſdiction over the neighbouring iſlands, which have all their particular aſſemblies: but the governor of Antigua is alſo governor of the other iſlands, except Barbadoes, which, on account of its poſition and importance, hath deſerved particular diſtinction. This governor-general muſt pay an annual viſit to the places under his authority; and he uſually begins his tour by Montſerrat.

State of the ſettlement formed by the Engliſh at Montſerrat.

This iſland, diſcovered in 1493 by Columbus, and occupied in 1632 by the Engliſh, is only eight or nine leagues in circumference. The ſavages, who lived peaceably in it, were expelled, according to cuſtom, by the uſurpers. This act of injuſtice was not at firſt followed with any very fortunate circumſtances. The progreſs of the new ſettlement was for a long time ſo ſlow, that ſix and fifty years after its foundation it ſcarce contained ſeven hundred inhabitants. It was not till towards the end of the century, that the population, both in white men and negroes, became as numerous as it could be in ſo confined a poſſeſſion. Sugar-canes were then ſubſtituted to commodities of little value, which had occaſioned their planters to languiſh in a ſtate of miſery. War and the elements overthrew, at ſeveral intervals, the beſt-founded expectations, and obliged the coloniſts to contract debts which are not yet paid off. At the preſent period, the activity of a thouſand free perſons, and the labours of eight thouſand ſlaves, produce five or ſix millions weight of raw ſugar, upon plains of little extent, or in vallies which are fertilized by the waters falling from the mountains. One of the diſadvantages of this iſland, the public expences of which do not exceed annually 49,887 livres

[2,078l. 12s. 6d.] is, that it has not one ſingle harbour where the lading and unlading can eaſily be made. The ſhips would even be in danger upon theſe coaſts, if the maſters did not take care, when they ſee a ſtorm approaching, to put out to ſea, or to take ſhelter in ſome neighbouring harbour. Nevis is expoſed to the ſame inconvenience.

Ancient manners and preſent ſtate of the iſland of Nevis.

THE moſt generally received opinion is, that the Engliſh ſettled on this iſland in 1628. It is properly nothing more than a very high mountain, of an eaſy aſcent, and crowned with tall trees. The plantations lie all round, and, beginning at the ſea-ſide, are continued almoſt to the top of the mountain; but the higher they ſtand, the leſs fertile they are, becauſe the ſoil grows more ſtony. This iſland is watered by many ſtreams, which would be ſo many ſources of plenty, if they did not in ſtormy weather ſwell into torrents, waſh away the lands, and deſtroy the treaſures they have produced.

The colony of Nevis was a model of virtue, order, and piety. Theſe exemplary manners have been owing to the paternal care of the firſt governor. This incomparable man inſpired all the inhabitants, by his own example, with a love of labour, a reaſonable economy, and innocent recreations. The perſon who commanded, and thoſe who obeyed, were all actuated by the ſame principle of the ſtricteſt equity. So rapid was the progreſs of this ſingular ſettlement, that, if we may credit all the accounts of thoſe times, it ſoon contained 10,000 white people and 20,000 blacks. Admitting even that ſuch a population, upon a territory of two leagues in length and one in breadth, ſhould be exaggerated, ſtill it will ſhew the amazing but infallible effect of virtue, in promoting the proſperity of a well-regulated ſociety.

But even virtue itſelf will not ſecure either individuals or ſocieties from the calamities of nature, or from the injuries of fortune. In 1689 a dreadful mortality ſwept away half this happy colony. It was ravaged in 1706 by a French ſquadron, which carried off three or four thouſand ſlaves. The next year the ruin of this iſland was completed, by the moſt violent hurricane ever recorded.

Since this ſeries of diſaſters, it has recovered a little. It contains ſix hundred free men and five thouſand ſlaves, the taxes upon whom do not exceed 45,000 livres [1875l.] and who ſend to England three or four millions weight of raw ſugar, the whole of which is ſhipped under the walls of the agreeable city called Charleſtown. Perhaps thoſe who repine moſt at the deſtruction of the Americans and the ſlavery of the Africans, would receive ſome conſolation if the Europeans were everywhere as humane as the Engliſh have been in this iſland of Nevis, and if all the iſlands in America were as well cultivated in proportion; but nature and ſociety afford few inſtances of ſuch miraculous proſperity.

Account of St. Chriſtophers.

SAINT CHRISTOPHERS was the nurſery of all the Engliſh and French colonies in America. Both nations arrived there on the ſame day, in 1625. They ſhared the iſland between them, ſigned a perpetual neutrality, and entered into a mutual engagement to aſſiſt each other againſt their common enemy the Spaniard, who for a century paſt had invaded or diſturbed the two hemiſpheres. Unfortunately, by an inconſiderate kind of convention, hunting, fiſhing, the woods, the harbours, and the ſalt-pits, had all been left in common. This arrangement mixed too many perſons together, who could not be agreeable to each other, and jealouſy ſoon divided thoſe whom a temporary intereſt had united. This fatal paſſion created daily quarrels, ſkirmiſhes, and devaſtations; but theſe were only domeſtic animoſities, in which the reſpective governments took no part. Concerns of greater importance having, in 1666, kindled between the two mother-countries a war, which continued almoſt uninterruptedly during the remainder of the century, their ſubjects in St. Chriſtophers fought with a degree of obſtinacy that was not to be found elſewhere. Sometimes conquerors and ſometimes conquered, they alternately drove each other from their plantations. This long conteſt, in which both parties alternately had the advantage, was terminated by the total expulſion of the French in 1702; and the peace of Utrecht cut off all their hopes of ever returning thither.

This was no great ſacrifice for a people who had never

ſeriouſly attended to the care of cultivating productions upon their domain. Their population amounted but to 667 white people, of all ages and both ſexes, 29 free blacks, and 659 ſlaves. All their herds conſiſted only of 265 head of horned cattle, and 157 horſes. They cultivated nothing but a little cotton and indigo, and had but one ſingle ſugar plantation.

Though the Engliſh had for a long time made a greater advantage of this iſland, yet they did not immediately reap all the benefit they might have done from having the ſole poſſeſſion of it. This conqueſt was for a long time a prey to rapacious governors, who ſold the lands for their own profit, or gave them away to their creatures, though they could only warrant the duration of the ſale, or grant, during the term of their adminiſtration. The parliament of England at length remedied this evil, by ordering, that all lands ſhould be put up to auction, and the purchaſe-money paid into the public coffers. After this prudent regulation, the new plantations were as well cultivated as the old ones.

The iſland, which is in general narrow, but very unequally ſo, may have an extent of thirty-ſix leagues ſquare. Mountains, thick ſet and barren, though covered with verdure, and which occupy one third of the territory, interſect it almoſt throughout its whole length. From the foot of theſe mountains iſſue an infinite number of ſprings, which, unfortunately, are for the moſt part dried up in the dry ſeaſons. Scattered over the plain we meet with a number of agreeable, neat, and convenient habitations, which are ornamented with avenues, fountains, and groves. The taſte for rural life, which the Engliſh have retained more than any other civilized nation in Europe, prevails in the higheſt degree at St. Chriſtophers. They never had the leaſt occaſion to form themſelves into ſmall ſocieties, in order to paſs away the time; and, if the French had not left there a ſmall town, where their manners are preſerved, they would ſtill be unacquainted with that kind of ſocial life which is productive of more altercations than pleaſures; which is kept up by gallantry, and terminates in debauchery; which begins with convivial joys, and ends in the quarrels of gaming. Inſtead of this image of union, which is in fact only a beginning of diſcord, the repreſentatives

of the proprietors, who are almoſt all of them ſettled in Europe, the number of which amounts to eighteen hundred, live upon the plantations; from whence they gather, by the labour of twenty-four or twenty-five thouſand ſlaves, eighteen millions weight of raw ſugar, which is the fineſt in the New World. This produce enables the colony to provide with eaſe for the public expences, which do not annually exceed 68,145 livres 10 ſols [2,839l. 7s. 11d.]

It was at St. Chriſtophers, that in 1756 was exhibited a ſcene worthy of being recounted.

Wretched cataſtrophes that have happened at St. Chriſtophers.

A NEGRO had, from his childhood, partook of the amuſements of his young maſter. This familiarity, which is commonly ſo dangerous, extended the ideas of the ſlave, without altering his character. Quazy ſoon deſerved to be choſen overſeer over the labours and over the plantations; and he diſplayed in that important poſt an uncommon ſhare of underſtanding and an indefatigable zeal. His conduct and his talents increaſed his favour, which appeared to be unalterably fixed, when this director, hitherto ſo much beloved and ſo much diſtinguiſhed, was ſuſpected of having infringed the eſtabliſhed laws of the police, and publicly threatened with an humiliating puniſhment.

A ſlave who hath for a long time eſcaped chaſtiſement, inflicted too readily and too frequently upon his equals, is infinitely jealous of that diſtinction. Quazy, who dreaded ſhame more than the grave, and who did not flatter himſelf with being able to avert the ſentence pronounced againſt him by his entreaties, went out in the midſt of the night, in order to obtain a powerful mediation. His maſter unfortunately perceived him, and attempted to ſtop him. They grappled with each other; and theſe two dexterous and vigorous champions wreſtled for ſome time with varied ſucceſs. At length the ſlave threw down his inflexible maſter, and kept him in that diſagreeable ſituation; when, putting a dagger to his breaſt, he addreſſed him in the following terms:

"Maſter, I have been brought up with you. Your "pleaſures have been mine. My heart hath never known

" any other intereſts than yours. I am innocent of the " trifling offence of which I am accuſed; but had I even " been guilty of it, you ought to have forgiven me. All " my ſenſes are rouſed with indignation at the recollection " of the affront which you are preparing for me; and thus " it is that I will avoid it." On ſaying theſe words, he cut his own throat, and fell down dead, without curſing the tyrant, whom he covered with his blood.

In the ſame iſland, love and friendſhip have been ſignalized by a tragic event, which hath never been paralleled either in fable or in hiſtory.

Two negroes, both young, handſome, robuſt, courageous, and born with a ſoul of an uncommon caſt, had been fond of each other from their infancy. Partners in the ſame labours, they were united by their ſufferings; which, in feeling minds, form a ſtronger attachment than pleaſures. If they were not happy, they comforted each other at leaſt in their miſery. Love, which generally obliterates the remembrance of all misfortunes, ſerved only to make theirs complete. A negro girl, who was likewiſe a ſlave, and whoſe eyes ſparkled, no doubt, with greater vivacity and fire from the contraſt of her dark complexion, excited an equal flame in the hearts of theſe two friends. The girl, who was more capable of inſpiring than of feeling a ſtrong paſſion, would readily have accepted either; but neither of them would deprive his friend of her, or yield her up to him. Time ſerved only to increaſe the torments they ſuffered, without affecting their friendſhip or their love. Oftentimes did tears of anguiſh ſtream from their eyes, in the midſt of the demonſtrations of friendſhip they gave each other, at the ſight of the too beloved object that threw them into deſpair. They ſometimes ſwore that they would love her no more, and that they would rather part with life than forfeit their friendſhip. The whole plantation was moved at the ſight of theſe conflicts. The love of the two friends for the beautiful negro girl was the topic of every converſation.

One day they followed her into a wood; there each embraced her, claſped her a thouſand times to his heart, ſwore all the oaths of attachment, and called her every tender name that love could ſuggeſt; when, ſuddenly, without ſpeaking or looking at each other, they both

plunged a dagger into her breaſt. She expired, and they mingled their tears and groans with her laſt breath. They roared aloud, and made the wood reſound with their violent outcries. A ſlave came running to their aſſiſtance, and ſaw them at a diſtance ſtifling the victim of their extraordinary paſſion with their kiſſes. He called out to ſome others, who ſoon came up, and found theſe two friends embracing each other upon the body of this unhappy girl, and bathed in her blood, while they themſelves were expiring in the ſtreams that flowed from their own wounds.

Theſe lovers and theſe friends were ſlaves. Is it in ſo degrading a ſtation that we ſee ſuch actions as muſt aſtoniſh the whole world? If there can be a man who is not ſtruck with horror and compaſſion at the greatneſs of this ferocious love, Nature muſt have formed him, not for the ſlavery of the negroes, but for the tyranny of their maſters. Such a man muſt have lived without commiſerating others, and will die without comfort; he muſt never have ſhed a tear, and none will ever be ſhed for him.

Particularities concerning Barbuda.

BARBUDA, which belongs entirely to the Codrington family, and the circumference of which is ſix or ſeven leagues, hath dangerous coaſts. This is perhaps the moſt even of all the American iſlands. The trees which cover it are weak, and not very high, becauſe there are never more than ſix or ſeven inches of earth upon a layer of lime-ſtone. Nature hath placed great plenty of turtles here; and caprice hath occaſioned the ſending thither of deer, and ſeveral kinds of game; chance hath filled the woods with pintados, and other fowls, eſcaped from the veſſels after ſome ſhipwreck. Upon this ſoil are fed oxen, horſes, and mules, for the labours of the neighbouring ſettlements. No other culture is known there, except that of the kind of corn which is neceſſary for the feeding of the numerous herds, in thoſe ſeaſons when the paſture fails. Its population is reduced to three hundred and fifty ſlaves, and to the ſmall number of free men who are appointed to overlook them. This private property pays no tribute to the nation, though it be ſubject to the tribunals of Antigua. The air here is very pure and very whole-

ſome. Formerly, the ſickly people of the other Engliſh iſlands went to breathe it, in order to ſtop the progreſs of their diſeaſes, or to recover their ſtrength. This cuſtom hath ceaſed, ſince ſome of them have indulged themſelves in parties of deſtructive chaſe.

Muſt men then be ſuffered to periſh in order that animals ſhould be preſerved? How is it poſſible that ſo atrocious a cuſtom, which draws down the imprecation of almoſt all Europe upon the ſovereigns and upon the lords of our countries, ſhould be ſuffered, and ſhould even be eſtabliſhed, beyond the ſeas? I have aſked this queſtion, and I have been anſwered, that the iſland belonged to the Codringtons; and that they had a right to diſpoſe of their property at their pleaſure. I now aſk, Whether this right of property, which is undoubtedly ſacred, hath not its limits? Whether this right, in a variety of circumſtances, be not ſacrificed to public good? Whether the man who is in poſſeſſion of a fountain, can refuſe water to him who is dying with thirſt? Whether any of the Codrington family would partake of one of thoſe precious pintados, that had coſt his countryman or his fellow-creature his life? Whether the man who ſhould be convicted of having ſuffered a ſick perſon to die at his door, would be ſufficiently puniſhed by the general execration? And whether he would not deſerve to be dragged before the tribunals of juſtice as an aſſaſſin? Poſſeſſor of Barbuda, thou art the aſſaſſin of all thoſe whom thou doſt deprive of the ſalubrity of the air, which would have preſerved them; and if this circumſtance ſhould not drive thee to deſpair upon thy death-bed, it is becauſe thine heart will bid defiance to the divine juſtice! Haſten, therefore, to recal that ſhameleſs repreſentative, who, in his concern for a ſeraglio of mulatto women, in whom, it is ſaid, all his delights are centered, rigorouſly purſues the execution of your barbarous prohibition.

Wretched ſtate of the colony of Anguilla.

ANGUILLA is ſeven or eight leagues in length, and is very unequal in its breadth, which never exceeds two leagues. Neither mountains, nor woods, nor rivers, are found upon it, and its ſoil is nothing more than chalk.

Some wandering Engliſhmen ſettled upon this porous and friable rock towards the year 1650. After an obſtinate labour, they at length ſucceeded in obtaining from this kind of turf a little cotton, a ſmall quantity of millet-ſeed, and ſome potatoes. Six veins of vegetating earth, which were in proceſs of time diſcovered, received ſugar canes, which, in the beſt harveſt, yield no more than fifty thouſand weight of ſugar, and ſometimes only five or ſix thouſand. Whatever elſe comes out of the colony hath been introduced into it clandeſtinely from Santa Cruz, where the inhabitants of Anguilla have formed ſeveral plantations.

In ſeaſons of drought, which are but too frequent, the iſland hath no other reſource but in a lake, the ſalt of which is ſold to the people of New England; and in the ſale of ſheep and goats, which thrive better in this dry climate, and upon theſe arid plains, than in the reſt of America.

Anguilla reckons no more than two hundred free inhabitants, and five hundred ſlaves. Nevertheleſs, it hath an aſſembly of its own, and even a chief, who is always choſen by the inhabitants, and confirmed by the governor of Antigua. A foreigner who ſhould be ſent to govern this feeble ſettlement, would infallibly be driven away by men who have preſerved ſomething of the independent manners, and of the rather ſavage character of their anceſtors.

The coaſt of this iſland affords but two harbours; and even in theſe very ſmall veſſels only can anchor. They are both defended by four pieces of cannon, which, for half a century paſt, have been entirely unfit for ſervice.

Tortola the only one of the Virgin iſlands cultivated by the Engliſh.

The Virgin iſlands are a group of about ſixty ſmall iſlands, moſt of them mountainous, dry, and arid, where the Spaniards of Porto-Rico were for a long time alone employed in catching turtle, which were very plenty there. The Dutch had juſt begun a ſmall ſettlement at Tortola, one of the beſt of theſe iſlands, and that which hath the ſafeſt harbour, when, in 1666, they were driven from it by the Engliſh; who ſoon after diſperſed themſelves over the

neighbouring ſmall iſlands and rocks. There they lived, during near a century, like ſavages, employed ſolely in the culture of cotton. It was not till after the peace of 1748 that their induſtry was turned towards ſugar, of which they have ſince regularly ſent to the mother-country four or five millions weight.

Before this period, there had not been any regular form of government, nor any public worſhip, at Tortola. Both the one and the other have been very recently eſtabliſhed; and what perhaps was more difficult to bring about, the inhabitants have been prevailed upon to pay the treaſury four and a half per cent. on the going out of their productions. A prudent adminiſtration would have ſolicited a bill to ſecure the ſeveral properties, all, or almoſt all, of which have been tranſmitted in an irregular manner; and if they were juridically attacked, there are few coloniſts who might not be legally ruined.

Here then is an inſtance, at Tortola, of the government being very eager to draw money from the coloniſts, and caring very little about ſecuring their felicity, although it would have coſt them only a little benevolence, without any kind of ſacrifice. Is it poſſible to ſay to men in a more impudent manner, "You are nothing to us; you have only "to continue ſtill to pay us; and when you ſhall no longer "be able to do it, you may periſh, you may die; we care "very little about the matter? The concern we take in "your fate is in proportion to the ſums you ſupply us "with." Such inhuman ſentiments are never uttered in any place; but ſtill this is the way in which people think and act in all parts. Subjects are everywhere treated as we do the mines, which we ceaſe to attend to when they yield no more ore. It is everywhere forgotten, that, with a ſmall ſhare of juſtice and protection, they would become an inexhauſtible fund. Empires in all parts think themſelves eternal, and thoſe who govern them conduct themſelves as if they had not one day to laſt. The ſame danger that threatens Tortola, does not extend itſelf to Jamaica.

Deſcription of Jamaica. This iſland, which lies to leeward of the other Engliſh iſlands, and which geographers have ranked among the greater Antilles, may be forty-three or forty-four leagues in

length, and ſixteen or ſeventeen in its greateſt breadth. It is interſected with ſeveral ridges of high craggy mountains, where dreadful rocks are heaped one upon another. Their barrenneſs does not prevent their being covered all over with a prodigious quantity of trees of different kinds, that ſtrike their roots through the clefts of the rocks, and attract the moiſture that is depoſited there by ſtorms and frequent fogs. This perpetual verdure, kept up and embelliſhed by a multitude of plentiful caſcades, makes a conſtant ſpring all the year round, and exhibits the moſt enchanting proſpect in nature. But theſe waters, which fall from the barren ſummits, and fertilize the plains below, are brackiſh and unwholeſome. The climate is ſtill more dangerous. Of all the American iſlands, Jamaica is the moſt deſtructive. Men periſh there very rapidly; and although the lands have been cleared for two centuries paſt, yet there are ſtill ſome very fruitful diſtricts, even near the capital, where a free man would not paſs the night, unleſs in a caſe of extreme neceſſity.

The Spaniards diſcover Jamaica, and ſettle there.

COLUMBUS diſcovered this great iſland in 1494, but made no ſettlement there. Eight years after, he was thrown upon it by a ſtorm. Having loſt his ſhips, and being unable to get away, he implored the humanity of the ſavages, who gave him all the aſſiſtance that natural pity ſuggeſts. But theſe people, who cultivated no more land than what was juſt ſufficient to ſupply their own wants, ſoon grew tired of ſupporting ſtrangers, to the manifeſt riſk of ſtarving themſelves, and inſenſibly withdrew from their neighbourhood. The Spaniards, who had already indiſpoſed the Indians againſt them by repeated acts of violence, grew outrageous, and proceeded ſo far as to take up arms againſt a humane and equitable chief, becauſe he diſapproved of their ferocity. Columbus availed himſelf of one of thoſe natural phenomena, in which a man of genius may ſometimes find a reſource, which he may be excuſed for having recourſe to in a caſe of urgent neceſſity.

From the knowledge he had acquired in aſtronomy, he knew there would ſoon be an eclipſe of the moon. He took advantage of this circumſtance, and ſummoned all the

caciques in the neighbourhood to come and hear ſomething that nearly concerned them, and was eſſential to their preſervation. He then pronounced with emphaſis, as if he were inſpired: *To puniſh you for the cruelty with which you ſuffer my companions and me to periſh, the God whom I worſhip is going to ſtrike you with his moſt terrible judgments. This very evening you will ſee the moon turn red, then grow dark, and withhold her light from you. This will be only a prelude to your calamities, if you obſtinately perſiſt in refuſing to give us food.*

The admiral had ſcarce done ſpeaking, when his prophecies were fulfilled. The ſavages were terrified beyond meaſure; they thought they were all loſt; they begged for mercy, and promiſed to do any thing that ſhould be deſired. They were then told, that heaven, moved with their repentance, was appeaſed, and that nature was going to reſume her wonted courſe. From that moment, proviſions were ſent in from all quarters; and Columbus was never in want of any during the time he remained there.

It was Don Diego, the ſon of this extraordinary man, who fixed the Spaniards at Jamaica. In 1509, he ſent thither ſeventy robbers from St. Domingo, under the command of John d'Eſquimel; and others ſoon followed. It ſeemed as if they all went over to this peaceable iſland, for no other purpoſe than to ſhed human blood. Thoſe barbarians never ſheathed their ſword while there was one inhabitant left to preſerve the memory of a numerous, mild, plain, and hoſpitable, people. It was happy for the earth that theſe murderers were not to ſupply their place. They had no inclination to multiply in an iſland where no gold was to be found. Their cruelty did not anſwer the purpoſe of their avarice; and the earth, which they had drenched with blood, ſeemed to refuſe her aſſiſtance to ſecond the barbarous efforts they had made to fix there. Every ſettlement raiſed upon the aſhes of the natives grew unſucceſsful, when labour and deſpair had completed the deſtruction of a few ſavages who had eſcaped the fury of the firſt conqueſts. That of St. Jago de la Vega was the only one that ſupported itſelf. The inhabitants of that town, plunged in idleneſs, the uſual conſequence of tyranny after devaſtation, were content with living upon the produce of ſome few plantations, and the overplus they ſold

to the ſhips that paſſed by their coaſts. The whole population of the colony centered in the little ſpot that fed this race of deſtroyers, conſiſted of 1,500 ſlaves, commanded by as many tyrants, when the Engliſh came and attacked the town, took it, and ſettled there in 1655.

Jamaica conquered by the Engliſh. Events that have happened ſince.

THE Engliſh brought the fatal ſources of diſcord along with them. At firſt the new colony was only inhabited by three thouſand of that fanatical militia, which had fought and conquered under the ſtandards of the republican party. Theſe were ſoon followed by a multitude of royaliſts, who were in hopes of finding reſt and peace in America, or comfort after their defeat. The diviſions which had prevailed for ſo long a time, and with ſo much violence, between the two parties in Europe, followed them beyond the ſeas. This was ſufficient to have renewed in America the ſcenes of horror and bloodſhed which had ſo often been acted in England, had not Penn and Venables, the conquerors of Jamaica, given the command of the iſland to the moſt prudent man among them, who happened to be the oldeſt officer. This was Dudley, who, although he had ſubmitted to the authority of a conquering fellow-citizen, had not yet loſt any of his attachment to the Stuarts. Twice did Cromwell, who had diſcovered his ſecret ſentiments, appoint ſome of his own party in his ſtead, and Dudley was as often reſtored to his office by the death of his opponents.

The conſpiracies that were forming againſt him were diſcovered and fruſtrated. He never ſuffered the ſmalleſt breach of diſcipline to go unpuniſhed; and always kept the balance even between the faction his heart deteſted, and the party he was attached to. He excited induſtry; and encouraged it by his attention, his advice, and his example. His authority was enforced by his diſintereſted behaviour. He never could be prevailed upon to accept of a ſalary, being content to live upon the produce of his own plantations. In private life, he was plain and familiar; in office, an intrepid warrior, a ſteady and ſtrict commander, and a wiſe politician. His manner of governing was altogether military, becauſe he was obliged to reſtrain or to regulate

an infant colony, wholly compoſed of ſoldiers; and to prevent and repulſe any invaſion from the Spaniards, who might attempt to recover what they had loſt.

But when Charles II was called to the crown, by the nation that had deprived his father of it, a form of civil government was eſtabliſhed at Jamaica, modelled, like thoſe of the other iſlands, upon that of the mother-country. It was not, however, till the year 1682, that the code of laws was drawn up, which to this day preſerves the colony in all its vigour. Three of theſe wiſe ſtatutes merit the attention of our political readers.

The deſign of the firſt is to excite the citizens to the defence of their country, without prejudice to their private fortunes; which might otherwiſe divert them from attending to it. It enacts, that whatever miſchief is done by the enemy, ſhall be immediately made good by the ſtate; or at the expence of all the ſubjects, if the money found in the treaſury ſhould prove inſufficient.

Another law concerns the means of increaſing population. It enacts, that every ſhip-captain who brings a man into the colony, who is unable to pay for his paſſage, ſhall receive a general gratuity of 22 livres 10 ſols [18s. 9d.] The particular gratuity is 168 livres 15 ſols [about 7l.] for every perſon brought from England or Scotland; 135 livres [5l. 11s. 6d.] for every perſon brought from Ireland; 78 livres 15 ſols [about 3l. 5s. 7d.] for every perſon brought from the continent of America; and 45 livres [1l. 17s. 6d.] for every perſon brought from the other iſlands.

The third law tends to the encouragement of agriculture. When a proprietor of land is unable to pay either the intereſt or capital of the money he has borrowed, his plantation is ſold at a price fixed by twelve planters. The value of the plantation, whatever it may be, frees the debtor entirely from any further obligation; but if it ſhould exceed his debt, the overplus muſt be returned to him. This regulation, though it may be thought partial, yet it hath the merit of abating the rigour of the landlord's and merchant's law-ſuits againſt the planter. It is to the advantage of the ſoil, and of mankind in general. The creditor is ſeldom a ſufferer by it, becauſe he is upon his guard; and the debtor is more obliged to be vigilant and honeſt,

if he means to find credit. Confidence then becomes the baſis of all agreements; and confidence is only to be gained by the practice of virtue.

Time hath produced other regulations. It was perceived that the Jews, ſettled in great numbers in Jamaica, made a jeſt of deceiving the tribunals of juſtice. A magiſtrate imagined that this evil might ariſe from the circumſtance of the Bible, which was preſented to them, being in Engliſh. It was determined that they ſhould take their oath in future upon the Hebrew text; and after this precaution, perjuries became infinitely leſs frequent.

In 1761, it was decided, that every man who was not a white man could not inherit more than 13,629 livres 3 ſols 4 deniers [about 567l. 17s. 7½d.] This ſtatute was diſpleaſing to ſeveral members of the aſſembly, who were incenſed at the circumſtance of depriving affectionate fathers of the ſatisfaction of leaving a fortune, purchaſed by long labours, to their beloved poſterity, becauſe they were not of the ſame colour. Diſputes aroſe, and the parliament of England took part in them. One of the moſt celebrated orators in the houſe of commons declared openly againſt the negroes. His opinion was, that they were a ſet of vile beings, of a ſpecies different from ours. The teſtimony of Monteſquieu was the ſtrongeſt of his arguments, and he read with confidence the ironical chapter or laws upon ſlavery. None of his hearers ſuſpected the real views of ſo judicious a writer, and his authority influenced the whole Britiſh ſenate.

The whole Britiſh ſenate! The whole legiſlative body, aſſembled to diſcuſs the intereſts of the nation, and to determine gravely upon a motion, which, from its injuſtice and unreaſonableneſs, deſerved only to be rejected with contempt! And wherefore ſhould it not have been determined that the blacks ſhould be entirely diſinherited? If their colour gave a ſanction to deprive them of a portion of their fathers fortunes, why not equally to deprive them of the whole? Opinions ſo palpably abſurd, ſhould have been combated by ridicule, and not by arguments: and if even, contrary to all probability, this had been the ſentiment of Monteſquieu, of what avail would his authority have been? The Engliſh ſhould at leaſt have made themſelves certain of the true meaning of the author.

The bill was going to be extended to the Indians, when one man, leſs blinded than the reſt, obſerved, that it would be a horrible piece of injuſtice to confound the ancient proprietors of the iſland with the Africans; and that, moreover, there were not above five or ſix families of the former remaining.

The colony had already acquired ſome degree of fame before theſe laws had been made. Some adventurers, as well from hatred and national jealouſy, as from a reſtleſs diſpoſition and want of fortune, attacked the Spaniſh ſhips. Theſe pirates were ſeconded by Cromwell's ſoldiers, who, retaining nothing after his death, except that public averſion which their former ſucceſſes had drawn upon them, went into America in queſt of promotion, which they could never expect in Europe. Theſe were joined by a multitude of Engliſhmen of both parties, accuſtomed to blood by the civil wars which had ruined them. Theſe men, eager for rapine and carnage, plundered the ſeas, and ravaged the coaſts of America. Jamaica was the place where the ſpoils of Mexico and Peru were always brought by the Engliſh, and frequently by foreigners. They found in this iſland more eaſe, a better reception, protection, and freedom, than anywhere elſe, whether for landing, or for ſpending, as they choſe, the ſpoils ariſing from their plunder. Here extravagance and debauchery ſoon plunged them again into indigence. This only incitement to their ſanguinary induſtry made them haſten to commit freſh depredations. Thus the colony reaped the benefit of their perpetual viciſſitudes of fortune, and enriched itſelf by the vices which were both the ſource and the ruin of their wealth.

When this deſtructive race became extinct, by reaſon of the frequency of the murders they committed, the funds they had left behind, and which, indeed, had been taken from uſurpers ſtill more unjuſt and cruel than themſelves, proved a freſh ſource of opulence, by facilitating the means of opening a clandeſtine trade with the Spaniſh ſettlements. This vein of riches, which had been opened about the year 1672, gradually increaſed, and with great rapidity, towards the end of the century. Some Portugueſe, with a capital of three millions [125,000l.] of which the ſovereign had advanced two thirds, engaged, in 1696, to furniſh the ſub-

jects of the court of Madrid with five thouſand blacks, each of the five years that their treaty was to laſt. This company drew a great many of thoſe ſlaves from Jamaica. From that time the coloniſts had conſtant connections with Mexico and Peru, either by means of the Portugueſe agents, or by the captains of their own ſhips employed in this trade. But this intercourſe was ſomewhat ſlackened by the war which broke out on account of the ſucceſſion to the throne of Spain.

At the peace, the aſſiento treaty alarmed the people of Jamaica. They were afraid that the South-ſea company, which was appointed to furniſh the Spaniſh colonies with negroes, would entirely exclude them from all acceſs to the gold mines. All the efforts they made to break this regulation, could not produce any alteration in the meaſures of the Engliſh miniſtry. They wiſely foreſaw that the activity of the aſſientiſts would prove a freſh motive of emulation for increaſing the contraband trade formerly carried on; and theſe views were found to be juſt.

The illicit trade of Jamaica was carried on in a very ſimple manner. An Engliſh veſſel pretended to be in want of water, wood, or proviſions; that her maſt was broken; or that ſhe had ſprung a leak, which could not be diſcovered or ſtopped without unloading. The governor permitted the ſhip to come into the harbour to refit: but, for form ſake, and to exculpate himſelf to his court, he ordered a ſeal to be affixed to the door of the warehouſe where the goods were depoſited; while another door was left unſealed, through which the merchandize that was exchanged in this trade was carried in and out by ſtealth. When the whole tranſaction was ended, the ſtranger, who was always in want of money, requeſted that he might be permitted to ſell as much as would pay his charges; and it would have been too cruel to refuſe this permiſſion. It was neceſſary that the governor, or his agents, might ſafely diſpoſe in public of what they had previouſly bought in ſecret; as it would always be taken for granted, that what they ſold could be no other than the goods that were allowed to be bought. In this manner were the greateſt cargoes diſpoſed of.

The court of Madrid thought to put a ſtop to theſe practices, by prohibiting the admiſſion of all foreign ſhips

into the Spaniſh harbours, on any pretence whatever. But the people of Jamaica calling in force to the aſſiſtance of artifice, ſupported themſelves in this trade under the protection of the Engliſh men of war, by allowing them five per cent. upon every article, to the fraudulent introduction of which they have a ſanction.

To this open violation of public order, ſucceeded a more private and leſs alarming one. The ſhips diſpatched from Jamaica repaired to thoſe ports of the Spaniſh coaſt which were leaſt frequented, eſpecially to that of Brew, five miles from Carthagena, and to that of Grout, four miles from Porto-Bello. A man who ſpoke the language of the country was immediately put aſhore, to give notice in the adjacent country of the arrival of the ſhips. The intelligence was propagated with amazing ſpeed to the moſt diſtant parts; the merchants haſtened to the place, and the trade began; but with ſuch precautions as experience had taught them. The ſhip's company was divided into three parties. While the firſt was entertaining the purchaſers, and treating them with great civilities, at the ſame time keeping a watchful eye to prevent them from exereiſing their inclination and dexterity in ſtealing, the ſecond was employed in receiving the vanilla, indigo, cochineal, gold and ſilver of the Spaniards, in exchange for ſlaves, quickſilver, ſilks, and other commodities. The third diviſion was, in the meanwhile, under arms upon deck, to provide for the ſafety of the ſhip, and to take care not to admit at once a greater number of men than could be kept in order.

When the tranſactions were finiſhed, the Engliſhman returned with his ſtock, which he had commonly doubled, and the Spaniard with his purchaſe, of which he hoped to make as great a profit, or greater. To prevent a diſcovery, he avoided the high-roads, and went through by-ways, with the negroes he had bought, who were loaded with the merchandize, which was divided into parcels of a convenient form and weight for carriage.

This manner of trading had been carried on ſucceſsfully for a long time, to the great emolument of the colonies of both nations; when, as Spain intended, it was generally obſtructed by ſubſtituting regiſter-ſhips to the galleons. It has gradually diminiſhed, and of late years was reduced to a very low ebb. The Britiſh miniſtry, wiſhing to revive it,

judged, in 1766, that the beſt expedient to repair the loſſes of Jamaica was to make it a free port.

Immediately the Spaniſh ſhips in America flocked thither from all parts, to exchange their gold and ſilver, and their commodities, for the manufactures of England. This eagerneſs was attended with this convenience, that the profit, of which it was the ſource, was acquired without riſk, and could not occaſion any diſputes: but it was to be expected that the court of Madrid would ſoon put a ſtop to an intercourſe ſo prejudicial to their intereſts. This was the opinion of Great Britain; and in order to preſerve the riches of the neighbouring continent, they laid the foundation of a colony upon the Moſquito coaſts.

Cultures eſtabliſhed at Jamaica.

WHATEVER may one day be the fate of this new ſettlement, it is certain that the attention of Jamaica was for too long a time, and too much engaged in a ſmuggling trade, while its cultures were too much neglected. The firſt of theſe which the Engliſh devoted themſelves to was that of cocoa, which they found eſtabliſhed by the Spaniards. It proſpered as long as thoſe plantations laſted, which had been cultivated by a people who made this their principal food and their only traffic. The trees grew old, and it became neceſſary to renew them; but, either for want of care or of ſkill, they did not ſucceed. Indigo was ſubſtituted to them.

This production was increaſing conſiderably, when the parliament laid a duty upon it which it was not able to bear, and which occaſioned the fall of this culture in Jamaica, as well as in the other Engliſh iſlands. This imprudent tax hath been ſince ſuppreſſed, and even the encouragement of gratifications hath been ſubſtituted to it; but this tardy generoſity hath only occaſioned abuſes. In order to obtain the bounty, the Jamaica people contracted the habit of procuring this valuable dye from St. Domingo, and of introcucing it into Great Britain as the growth of their own plantations.

The expence the government is at on this account cannot be looked upon entirely as a loſs, ſince it is of uſe to the nation. But it keeps up that miſtruſt, and we may ſay, that propenſity to fraud, which the ſpirit of finance has

given riſe to in all our modern forms of legiſlation, between the ſtate and the citizens. Ever ſince the magiſtrate has been inceſſantly contriving means to appropriate to himſelf the money of the people, theſe have been ſtudying artifices to elude the avidity of the magiſtrates. When there has been on one ſide no moderation in the expences, no limit to taxations, no equity in the repartition, no lenity in the recovery, there have been no longer any ſcruples about the violation of pecuniary laws on the other, nor any honeſty in the payment of the duties, nor probity in the engagements of the ſubject with the prince. Oppreſſion hath prevailed on one hand, and plunder on the other; the finance hath extorted from commerce, and commerce hath eluded or defrauded the finance. The treaſury hath pillaged the planters, and the planters have impoſed upon the treaſury by falſe entries. Such are the manners of both hemiſpheres.

In the New one there ſtill exiſted a few plantations of indigo at Jamaica, when the culture of cotton began to be attended to. This production had a rapid ſucceſs, which continued, becauſe it was advantageouſly, and without delay, diſpoſed of in England, where it was manufactured with a degree of dexterity which hath been rather imitated than equalled by the rival nations.

Ginger hath been leſs uſeful to the colony. The ſavages who were found by the Europeans in the American iſlands, moſt generally made uſe of it; but their conſumption in this, as in every other article, was ſo ſmall, that nature afforded them a ſufficient quantity without the aſſiſtance of cultivation. The uſurpers grew paſſionately fond of this ſpice; they ate it in the morning to ſharpen their appetite; they ſerved it up at table, preſerved in ſeveral different ways; they uſed it after meals to facilitate digeſtion, and at ſea as an antidote againſt the ſcurvy. The Old World adopted the taſte of the New; and this laſted till the price of pepper, which had for a long while been extremely high, was reduced. Ginger then fell into a kind of contempt; and its culture was dropped almoſt everywhere, except at Jamaica.

This iſland produces and ſells another ſpice, improperly called Jamaica pepper. The tree which bears it is a kind of myrtle, which commonly grows upon the mountains,

and riſes to the height of more than thirty feet. It is very ſtraight, moderately thick, and covered with a greyiſh, ſmooth, and ſhining bark. Its leaves, which have a pleaſant ſmell, reſemble, in form and diſpoſition, thoſe of the laurel; and the branches are terminated by cluſters of flowers entirely ſimilar to thoſe of the common myrtle. The fruit by which they are ſucceeded is a ſmall berry, ſomewhat larger than that of the juniper. Theſe berries are gathered green, and ſpread in the ſun to dry. They turn brown, and acquire a ſpicy ſmell, which in England hath given the name of *all-ſpice* to this pimento. It is very uſeful to ſtrengthen cold ſtomachs; but what is this advantage compared with all thoſe that are obtained from ſugar?

The art of managing this culture was unknown in Jamaica till the year 1668. It was brought thither by ſome inhabitants of Barbadoes. One of them was poſſeſſed of every requiſite for that kind of produce that depends on man. His name was Thomas Modiford. His capital, together with his ſkill and activity, enabled him to clear an immenſe tract of land, and raiſed him in time to the government of the colony; yet neither could the view of his fortune, nor his urgent ſolicitations, prevail upon men, who were moſt of them accuſtomed to the idleneſs of a military life, to apply to the labours of cultivation. Twelve hundred unfortunate men, who arrived in 1760 from Surinam, which had juſt been ceded to the Dutch, proved more tractable. Neceſſity inſpired them with reſolution; and their example excited emulation, which was kept up by the quantity of money conſtantly poured into the iſland by the freebooters. Great part of it was employed in erecting buildings, purchaſing ſlaves, implements of huſbandry, and furniture neceſſary for the riſing plantations. In proceſs of time, Jamaica exported great quantities of ſugar, of an inferior kind, indeed, to that which was made in moſt of the other colonies, but the rum of which was exceedingly ſuperior.

The coffee-tree proſpered in the Dutch and French ſettlements in the New World, before the Engliſh thought of appropriating it to themſelves; and, indeed, Jamaica was the only Britiſh iſland which thought proper to adopt

it, but it never carried the cultivation of it as far as the rival nations.

It was a generally received opinion in 1756, that Jamaica had attained the greateſt degree of proſperity of which it was ſuſceptible. An iſland, inhabited during a whole century by an active and enlightened people, into which the riches of Mexico and Peru had been conveyed without interruption, by piracy, and by a fraudulent commerce, and in which no circumſtance neceſſary for cultivation had ever been wanting: an iſland, to which navigators muſt have been conſtantly attracted, by the ſafety of the coaſts, and by the excellence of the harbours; and the productions of which had always been in great requeſt throughout all Europe: ſuch a ſettlement muſt have appeared, even to the moſt thinking perſons, to have made all the progreſs of which nature had rendered it ſuſceptible.

This illuſion, ſo reaſonably adopted, was diſſipated by a war, which will for ever render this period memorable. A calamity, which ſometimes overturns ſtates, and always exhauſts them, became a ſource of wealth to Jamaica. The Engliſh merchants, enriched with the ſpoils of an enemy, conquered and fugitive on all ſides, found themſelves enabled to advance conſiderable ſums, and to grant a long credit to the planters. The coloniſts themſelves, animated by the diſcouragement of the French coloniſts, whoſe labours had till that time been ſo fortunate, eagerly availed themſelves of the means which were put in their hands by theſe unexpected events. Peace did not check the impulſe they had received. This rapid increaſe of activity hath continued, and the productions of the colony are nearly one third more conſiderable than they were thirty years ago.

Preſent ſtate of Jamaica, conſidered in every point of view.

THE whole iſland may contain about three millions eight hundred thouſand acres of land, of which, according to the information of a judicious and ſtudious man, who hath for a long time governed the colony, one million ſeven hundred twenty-eight thouſand four hundred and thirty-one acres are taken up by mountains, rocks, lakes, moraſſes, rivers, and other places, which are unavoidably loſt to the purpoſes of every uſeful labour. Government hath ſucceſſively granted one million

ſix hundred and ſeventy-one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-nine acres, which are cleared, or capable of being ſo. *There ſtill remain four hundred thouſand to be diſpoſed of, which want nothing but men and means to cultivate them.*

In 1658 Jamaica reckoned four thouſand five hundred white perſons, and fourteen hundred ſlaves; in 1670, ſeven thouſand five hundred white men, and eight thouſand ſlaves; in 1734, ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and forty-four white men, and eighty-ſix thouſand five hundred and forty-ſix ſlaves; in 1746, ten thouſand white men, and one hundred and twelve thouſand four hundred and twenty-eight ſlaves; in 1768, ſeventeen thouſand nine hundred and forty-ſeven white men, and one hundred and ſixty-ſix thouſand nine hundred and fourteen ſlaves; in 1775, eighteen thouſand five hundred white perſons, three thouſand ſeven hundred blacks, or free mulattoes, and one hundred and ninety thouſand nine hundred and fourteen ſlaves. One hundred and ten thouſand of theſe unfortunate people are placed on ſix hundred and fourſcore ſugar plantations; the remainder is employed in leſs valuable cultures, carried on in fourteen hundred and ſixty habitations, in navigation, in domeſtic ſervices, and in other labours of primary neceſſity.

The public expences of the colony amount annually to 817,750 livres [34,073l. 8s. 4d.] Theſe expences are ſupplied by duties upon houſes, upon the ſeveral productions of the ſoil, upon foreign liquors, and by a poll-tax upon the negroes, which, in extraordinary caſes, is doubled. The perſons appointed, in the nineteen pariſhes, to levy theſe taxes, which are decreed by the general aſſembly, have obtained two and a half per. cent as a reward for their trouble; and the receiver-general retains five per cent. for himſelf.

The ſpecie which is commonly circulated in the iſland doth not exceed 954,041 livres [39,751l. 14s. 2d.] This is more than ſufficient, ſince it is only uſed in the more minute details of trade. The ſlaves brought from Africa, the merchandize ſent from Europe, all things which are of great value, are paid by bills of exchange payable in London, or in ſome other Britiſh port, where the coloniſts ſend their commodities on their own account.

The profit ariſing from theſe productions is not deſtined entirely for the inceſſant wants of Jamaica. A great part

of it is intended for the diſcharge of the debts, which an immoderate luxury, and accumulated misfortunes, have obliged the inhabitants ſucceſſively to contract. Theſe engagements, as far as we can judge of them, amount to two thirds of the apparent riches of the colony. The greateſt number of the creditors are ſettled in England; the others are merchants temporarily ſettled in the iſland, among whom are reckoned a great many Jews. May theſe people, who were ſlaves at firſt, afterwards conquerors, and then diſgraced for the ſpace of twenty centuries, one day attain the legal poſſeſſion of Jamaica, or of ſome other rich iſland in the New World? May they collect all their children there, and bring them up in peace to culture and commerce, ſheltered from that fanaticiſm which rendered them odious to the world, and from that perſecution which hath puniſhed their errors with too much rigour! May the Jews live free, unmoleſted, and happy, in ſome corner of the world; ſince, by the ties of humanity, they are our brethren, and our fathers in the tenets of religion!

The colony, at preſent, ſends annually to the mother-country eight hundred thouſand quintals of ſugar, which, at the rate of 40 livres [1l. 13s. 4d.] the quintal, produce 32,000,000 livres [1,333,333l. 6s. 8d.] four million gallons of rum, which, at the rate of 1 livre 10 ſols [1s. 3d.] the gallon, produce 6,000,000l. livres [250,000l.] three hundred thouſand gallons of molaſſes, which, at the rate of 10 ſols [5d.] the gallon, produce 150,000 livres, [6,250l.] ſix thouſand quintals of cotton, which, at the rate of 150 livres [6l. 5s.] the quintal, produce 900,000 livres [37,500l.] ſix thouſand quintals of pimento, which, at the rate of 42 livres [1l. 6s. 8d.] the quintal, produce 252,000 livres [10,500l.] eighteen thouſand quintals of coffee, which, at the rate of 50 livres [2l. 1s. 8d.] the quintal, produce 900,000 livres [37,500l.] three thouſand quintals of ginger, which, at the rate of 70 livres [2l. 18s. 4d.] the quintal, produce 210,000 livres [8,750l.] and to the amount of 400,000 livres [16,666l. 13s. 4d.] in wood for inlaying. All theſe ſums united, make the produce of Jamaica amount to 40,812,000 livres [1,700,500l.]

The veſſels deſtined for their exportation are very numerous, but are only of the burthen of one hundred and fifty, or two hundred tons.

A ſmall number of theſe veſſels take up their cargoes at the harbour of Morant Point, which might be conſidered as a good harbour, were it more eaſy of acceſs. This road, ſituated in the ſouthern part of the iſland, is only defended by an ill-conſtructed battery, improperly placed. Twelve men, commanded by a ſerjeant, are continually on guard there. Not far off is a bay of the ſame name, more convenient, and more frequented by navigators.

The coaſt affords no other anchorage, unleſs for very ſmall boats, till the ſhips arrive at Port Royal, where half of the productions of the colony deſtined for Europe are embarked.

At a greater diſtance is the old harbour, which is commonly well frequented. The neighbouring planters have often reſolved to conſtruct ſome works there, to protect the veſſels which may take in their cargoes at this place, againſt ſmall privateers. This expenſive project appears to be entirely laid aſide. It hath been at length underſtood that the difficulty of entrance would always be the beſt defence.

The bay of the Black river would require a good battery. It might be erected without much expence, and would enſure the ſafety of a great number of ſmall ſhips that frequent it.

Savanna la Mar hath never much water, and its entrance is everywhere embarraſſed with ſhoals and ſunken rocks. It is the worſt harbour of the colony; and yet it is become the ſtaple of a conſiderable trade, ſince the neighbouring territory hath been cleared. Formerly its inhabitants were deſirous of ſurrounding themſelves with fortifications. Theſe works were forſaken, after more than one thouſand crowns [12,500l.] had been expended upon them. Nothing remains of theſe labours but a heap of ruins.

The iſland hath upon its weſtern coaſt, which is very narrow, only one harbour, and that is Port Orange, where ſeven or eight veſſels take in their cargoes annually.

The firſt harbour to the north is that of St. Lucia. It is ſpacious and ſafe, and defended by a fort, capable of making ſome reſiſtance, if it were repaired, and if the artillery were put into a ſtate fit for ſervice. A ſmall garriſon is always kept there.

Eight or nine leagues further, is the excellent bay of

Montego. The fifth part of the productions of the colony is embarked in the ſmall town of Barnet-town, defended by a battery of ten guns.

The entrance of Port St. Ann is rendered difficult by ſhoals. It ſcarce receives annually fifteen or ſixteen veſſels.

Port Antonio is one of the ſafeſt harbours, but not one of the moſt frequented, of the iſland. Its fort is guarded by a detachment commanded by an officer.

The eaſtern coaſt hath no other harbour than the Manchineel. Its anchorage is good, but in the neighbouring latitudes the ſea is always violently agitated by the eaſterly winds. This is the ſpot moſt expoſed to invaſions, and the battery of ten guns, which hath been conſtructed there, would not ſhelter it from danger, if its riches were more conſiderable. The whole defence of the colony is properly fixed at Port Royal.

Means which Jamaica hath to preſerve herſelf from invaſion.

THE Engliſh had no ſooner made themſelves maſters of Jamaica, than they attended to the rendering of this conqueſt uſeful, and to the ſecuring of the poſſeſſion of it. The cultures undertaken by the Spaniards, and the advantages of a ſafe, immenſe, and convenient harbour, prudently inclined them to fix their views upon Port Royal. The town they built there, though placed in the midſt of ſands, upon a very narrow neck of land, though deprived by nature of water fit for drinking, and of all the other ſupports of life, became a famous city in leſs than thirty years.

This ſplendour was owing to a conſtant and quick circulation of trade, formed by the commodities of the iſland, the captures of the freebooters, and the trade opened with the neighbouring continent. There have been few ſtaples upon the face of the globe, where the thirſt of wealth and pleaſure had united more opulence and more corruption.

One moment deſtroyed, on the 27th of June 1692, this beautiful appearance. The ſky, which was clear and ſerene, grew obſcured and red throughout the whole extent of Jamaica. A rumbling noiſe was heard under ground, ſpreading from the mountains to the plain; the rocks were ſplit; hills came cloſe together; infectious lakes appeared on the ſpots where whole mountains had been ſwallowed

up; immenſe foreſts were removed ſeveral miles from the place where they ſtood; the edifices diſappeared, being either ſunk into the caverns of the earth, or overturned. Thirteen thouſand lives were loſt by this dreadful earthquake, and three thouſand by a contagious diſtemper that broke out ſoon after. It is ſaid, that ſince this cataſtrophe, the climate is not ſo fine, the air not ſo pure, nor the ſoil ſo fruitful, as it was before. This terrible phenomenon ſhould have taught the Europeans not to truſt to the poſſeſſion of a world that trembles under their feet, and ſeems to ſlip out of their rapacious hands.

In this general overthrow, Port Royal beheld buried in the incenſed waves, or thrown at a diſtance upon deſolate coaſts, the numerous ſhips, the proud flags which rendered her ſo vain. The city itſelf was deſtroyed and overflown. In vain was it attempted to rebuild the town upon its ruins; theſe labours were all fruitleſs. The riſing walls were again blown down by a hurricane. Port Royal, like Jeruſalem, could never be rebuilt. The earth ſeemed only digged to ſwallow it up anew. By a ſingularity which baffles all human efforts and reaſonings to account for, the only houſes that were left ſtanding, after this freſh ſubverſion, were ſituated at the extremity of a point of land extremely narrow, which advances ſeveral miles in the ſea; as if the inconſtant ocean had afforded a ſolid foundation to edifices which the firm ground ſeemed to caſt off.

The inhabitants of Port Royal, diſcouraged by theſe repeated calamities, retired to Kingſton, which is ſituated in the ſame bay. By their induſtry and activity, this town, which till then had been obſcure, ſoon became a pleaſant and flouriſhing city. Trade is even gradually become more animated here, than it ever was at any period in any of the marts to which it hath ſucceeded; becauſe the colony hath gained more by the increaſe of its cultures, than it hath loſt by the decreaſe of its ſmuggling trade.

Yet Port Royal had never been, and Kingſton did not become, the capital of the iſland. St. Yago de la Vega, which the Engliſh have named Spaniſhtown, continued ſtill to enjoy this uſeful prerogative. This town, built by the Spaniards, at the diſtance of ſome leagues from the ſea, upon the river Cobra, the moſt conſiderable one of the country, though not navigable, was the ſeat of the legiſlative

body, the reſidence of the governor-general, the place where the courts of juſtice were holden, and, conſequently, that where the richeſt planters dwelt.

Admiral Knowles judged that this arrangement was contrary to the public good; and in 1756, he cauſed it to be decided by the general aſſembly, that all the affairs, and all the powers of adminiſtration, ſhould be united at Kingſton. Perſonal hatred againſt the projector of this plan; the harſhneſs of the meaſures he employed to carry it into execution; the attachment moſt people are apt to take for places as well as things; numberleſs private intereſts that muſt neceſſarily be affected by this alteration; all theſe cauſes raiſed in the minds of ſeveral of the coloniſts, unſurmountable objections to a plan, which was indeed liable to ſome inconveniencies, but which was founded on unanſwerable reaſons, and offered great advantages. The obſtacles with which the opponents embarraſſed the new ſyſtem, did not put a ſtop to the meaſures of government. This was even the time they choſe for repairing Fort Charles, which ſerves as a citadel to Port Royal, and for increaſing, on the other ſide of the bay, the very well executed fortifications of Moſquito point, which command the canal through which the veſſels deſtined for Kingſton muſt paſs. If, inſtead of entering the bay, the enemy ſhould wiſh to land to the north of the new capital, they would be ſtopped in their march by Zock, a fort conſtructed with ſkill, and maintained with care, in a very narrow defile, at the diſtance of a league from the city. Among theſe different works, and in ſome other leſs important poſts, two regiments are uſually diſtributed. They receive pay from the mother-country: but the colony adds to it a daily gratuity of 12 ſols [6d.] for every ſoldier, and a double gratuity for every officer. If theſe troops were as well as they are ill diſciplined, they would not preſerve the iſland from invaſion, and would ſoon be reduced to capitulate to a naval force ſuperior to that which might be deſtined to ſupport them.

If Jamaica could even be preſerved from the calamities of a foreign invaſion, it would no leſs be expoſed to domeſtic dangers, ſtill more alarming.

When the Spaniards were compelled to cede Jamaica to the Engliſh, they left there a number of negroes and mulat-

toes, who, tired of their ſlavery, took a reſolution to retire into the mountains, there to preſerve that liberty which they had recovered by the expulſion of their tyrants. Having entered into ſome agreements neceſſary to preſeve their union, they planted maize and cocoa, in the moſt inacceſſible places of their retreat; but the impoſſibility of ſubſiſting till harveſt, obliged them to come down into the plain to pillage for ſuſtenance. The conquerors bore this plunder the more impatiently, as they had nothing to ſpare; and declared war againſt them. Many were maſſacred; the greater part ſubmitted; and only fifty or ſixty fled back to the rocks, there to live or die in freedom.

Policy, which ſees every thing, but is never moved by compaſſion, thought it neceſſary utterly to exterminate or reduce this handful of fugitives, who had eſcaped from ſlavery or carnage; but the troops, who were either periſhing or exhauſted with fatigue, were averſe from this deſtructive ſcheme, which muſt have occaſioned the effuſion of more blood. It was therefore dropt, for fear of a revolt. This condeſcenſion was attended with fatal conſequences. All the ſlaves, grown deſperate by the hardſhips they underwent, or by the dread of puniſhment, ſoon ſought an aſylum in the woods, where they were ſure of meeting with companions ready to aſſiſt them. The number of fugitives increaſed daily. In a ſhort time they deſerted by troops, after having maſſacred their maſters, and plundered and ſet fire to the habitations. In vain were active partizans ſent out againſt them; to whom a reward of 900 livres [37l. 10s.] was offered for the head of every negro they ſhould bring. This ſeverity produced no alteration, and the deſertion only became the more general.

The rebels grow more daring as their numbers increaſed. Till the year 1690, they had only fled; but, when they thought themſelves ſtrong enough to attack, they fell upon the Engliſh plantations, in ſeparate bands, and committed horrid ravages. In vain were they driven back to their mountains with loſs; in vain were forts erected and garriſoned at proper diſtances, to prevent their inroads; notwithſtanding theſe precautions, they renewed their depreations from time to time. The reſentment which the violation of the rights of nature by barbarous policy excited in theſe blacks, inſpired them with ſuch fury, that the white

people who had bought them, in order, as they ſaid, to cut off the root of the evil, reſolved, in 1735, to employ all the forces of the colony, to deſtroy a juſtly implacable enemy.

Immediately the military law took place of all civil government. All the coloniſts formed themſelves into regular bodies of troops. They marched towards the rebels by different roads. One party undertook to attack the town of Nauny, which the blacks themſelves had built in the Blue mountains. With cannon, a town built without regularity and defended without artillery, was ſoon deſtroyed; but the ſucceſs of the other enterpriſes was frequently doubtful, ſometimes attended with much loſs. The ſlaves, more elated by one triumph than diſcouraged by ten defeats, were proud of conſidering their former tyrants merely as enemies they were to contend with. If they were beaten, they had at leaſt ſome revenge. Their blood was at leaſt mixed with that of their barbarous maſters. They ruſhed againſt the ſword of the European, to plunge a dagger into his breaſt. At laſt, overpowered by numbers, or by the dexterity of their antagoniſts, the fugitives intrenched themſelves in inacceſſible places, where they diſperſed in ſmall bands, fully determined never to ſtir out; and well aſſured that they ſhould never be conquered there. At length, after various conteſts and excurſions, that laſted nine months, the Engliſh gave up all thoughts of ſubduing them.

Thus, ſooner or later, will any people, made deſperate by tyranny, or the oppreſſion of conquerors, always get the better of numerous, experienced, and even well-diſciplined armies; if they have but reſolution enough to endure hunger rather than the yoke; to die rather than live in bondage; and, if they chooſe, rather to ſee their nation extinct than enſlaved. Let them abandon the field to the multitude of troops; to the train of war; to the diſplay of proviſions, ammunition, and hoſpitals: let them retire into the heart of the mountains, without baggage, without covering, without ſtores; nature will provide for them and defend them. There let them remain for years, till the climate, idleneſs, and intemperance, have deſtroyed thoſe ſwarms of foreign invaders, who have no booty to expect, nor any laurels to gather. Let them pour down

upon them at intervals, like the torrents of their own mountains, ſurpriſe them in their tents, and ravage their boundaries. Laſtly, let them deſpiſe the opprobious names of robbers and murderers, which will be laviſhed upon them by a great people, baſe enough to arm themſelves againſt a handful of huntſmen, and weak enough to be unable to conquer them.

Such was the conduct of the blacks with the Engliſh. Theſe, weary of excurſions and fruitleſs armaments, fell into univerſal deſpondency. The pooreſt among them would not venture to accept the lands which the government offered them in the vicinity of the mountains. Even the ſettlements at a greater diſtance from theſe rebels, inured to war, were either neglected or forſaken. Many parts of the iſland, which from their appearance ſeemed likely to become the moſt fruitful, were left in their uncultivated ſtate.

In this ſituation was the colony when Trelawney was appointed governor. This prudent and humane commander was ſenſible, that a ſet of men, who for near a century paſt lived upon wild fruits, went naked, and expoſed to the inclemency of the weather; who, ever at war with an aſſailant ſtronger than themſelves, and better armed, never ceaſed fighting for the defence of their liberty; that ſuch a ſet of men would never be ſubdued by open force. He, therefore, had recourſe to conciliating meaſures. He offered them not only lands as their own property, but likewiſe liberty and independence.

Theſe overtures were favourably received. The treaty concluded with them in 1739, decided, that the chief, whom they themſelves ſhould chooſe, ſhould receive his commiſſion from the Engliſh government; that he ſhould come every year to the capital of the colony, if required; that two white men ſhould conſtantly reſide with him, in order to maintain a harmony advantageous to both nations; and if the colony were ever attacked, he and all his people ſhould take up arms.

While Trelawney was negotiating this accommodation in the name of the crown, the general aſſembly of the colony propoſed their ſeparate plan. In this ſecond agreement, the new people engaged to harbour no more fugitive ſlaves; and they were promiſed a ſtipulated ſum for every deſerter

whom they ſhould inform againſt, and a more conſiderable reward for thoſe whom they ſhould bring back to their plantations. Since this ſhameful contract, this ſmall republic hath been conſtantly declining. It now reckons no more than thirteen hundred individuals, men, women, and children, diſtributed in five or ſix villages.

Whether theſe events inſpired them with boldneſs, or whether they were exaſperated at the ill uſage they met with from the Engliſh, the negro ſlaves reſolved to be free likewiſe. While the flames of war, kindled in Europe, were ſpreading in America, theſe miſerable men agreed, in 1760, to take up arms all in one day, murder their tyrants, and ſeize upon the government. But their impatience for liberty diſconcerted the unanimity of the plot, by preventing the timely execution of it. Some of the conſpirators ſtabbed their maſters, and ſet fire to their houſes before the appointed time; but finding themſelves unable to reſiſt the whole force of the iſland, which their premature exploit had collected in a moment, they fled to the mountains. From this impenetrable receſs they were inceſſantly making deſtructive inroads. The Engliſh, in their diſtreſs, were reduced to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the wild negroes, whoſe independence they had been obliged to acknowledge by a ſolemn treaty. They even bribed them, and promiſed a conſiderable ſum for every ſlave they ſhould kill with their own hands. Thoſe baſe Africans, unworthy of the liberty they had recovered, were not aſhamed to ſell the blood of their brethren: they purſued them, and killed many of them by ſurpriſe. At laſt the conſpirators, weakened and betrayed by their own nation, remained a long time ſilent and inactive.

The conſpiracy was thought to be effectually extinguiſhed, when the rebels, reinforced by deſerters from the ſeveral plantations, appeared again with redoubled fury. The regular troops, the militia, and a large body of ſailors, all marched in purſuit of the ſlaves; they fought and beat them in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes; many were ſlain, or taken priſoners, and the reſt diſperſed into the woods and rocks. All the priſoners were ſhot, hanged, or burnt. Thoſe who were ſuppoſed to be the chief promoters of the conſpiracy, were tied alive to gibbets, and there left to periſh ſlowly, expoſed to the ſcorching ſun of the torrid zone; a far more

painful and more terrible death than that of being burnt alive. Yet their tyrants enjoyed the torments of theſe miſerable wretches, whoſe only crime was an attempt to recover by revenge, thoſe rights of which avarice and inhumanity had deprived them.

The meaſures that were taken to prevent future inſurrections were dictated by the ſame ſpirit of barbarity. A ſlave is whipped in the public places, if he plays at any game whatſoever; if he preſumes to go a-hunting, or to ſell any thing but milk or fiſh. He cannot ſtir out of his maſter's plantation, unleſs attended by a white man, or with an expreſs permiſſion in writing. If he ſhould beat a drum, or make uſe of any other noiſy inſtrument, his maſter is condemned to pay a fine of 225 livres [9l. 7s. 6d.] Thus do the Engliſh, who are ſo jealous of their own liberty, ſport with that of other men. To this exceſs of barbarity the negro trade muſt neceſſarily have brought theſe uſurpers. Such is the progreſs of injuſtice and violence. To conquer the New World, its inhabitants muſt doubtleſs have been ſlaughtered. To replace them, negroes muſt be bought, as they alone are able to endure the climate and the labours of America. To remove theſe Africans from their native country, who were deſigned to cultivate the land without having any poſſeſſions in it, it was neceſſary to ſeize them by force, and to make them ſlaves. To keep them in ſubjection, they muſt be treated with ſeverity. To prevent their revolt, the natural conſequence of ſeverity and ſervitude, theſe men, whom we have made deſperate, muſt be reſtrained by capital puniſhments, by hard uſage, and atrocious laws.

But cruelty itſelf has a period in its own deſtructive nature. In an inſtant it may ceaſe. An enemy who ſhould be ſo fortunate as to land at Jamaica, would ſoon convey arms to theſe men, who are full of rancour againſt their oppreſſors, and only wait a favourable opportunity to riſe againſt them. The French, not conſidering that the revolt of the blacks in one colony would probably occaſion it in all the reſt, will haſten ſuch a revolution in time of war. The Engliſh, finding themſelves between two fires, will be diſmayed; their ſtrength and courage will fail them; and Jamaica will fall a prey to ſlaves and conquerors, who will contend for dominion with freſh enormities. Such is the

train of evils that injuſtice brings along with it! It attaches itſelf to man ſo cloſely, that the connection cannot be diſſolved but by the ſword. Crimes beget crimes; blood is productive of blood; and the earth becomes a perpetual ſcene of deſolation, tears, miſery, and affliction, where ſucceſſive generations riſe to imbrue their hands in blood, to tear out each other's bowels, and to lay each other in the duſt.

Advantages of Jamaica for war. Its diſadvantages for navigation.

THE loſs of Jamaica, however, would be a heavy one for England. Nature has placed this iſland at the entrance of the gulf of Mexico, and made it a kind of key to that rich country. All ſhips going from Carthagena to the Havannah, are obliged to paſs by its coaſts; it is more within reach of the ſeveral trading ports on the continent, than any other iſland; the many excellent roads with which it is ſurrounded, facilitate the launching of men of war on all ſides of the iſland. Theſe ſeveral advantages are balanced by ſome inconveniencies.

If it be eaſy to get at Jamaica by the trade-winds, by taking a view of the Leſs Antilles, it is not ſo eaſy to get away from thence, whether we go through the ſtraits of Bahama, or determine for the leeward paſſage.

The firſt of theſe two ways gives the full advantage of the wind for two hundred leagues; but as ſoon as Cape St. Anthony is doubled, we meet the ſame wind againſt us that before was favourable: ſo that more time is loſt than was gained; and there is alſo a riſk of being taken by the guarda coſtas of the Havannah. This danger is ſucceeded by another, which is the ſhoals on the coaſt of Florida, towards which the winds and currents drive with great violence. The Elizabeth, an Engliſh man of war, would infallibly been loſt there in 1746, had not Captain Edwards ventured into the Havannah. It was during the height of the war, and the port belonged to the enemy. "I come," ſaid the captain to the governor, "to deliver up my ſhip, "my ſailors, my ſoldiers, and myſelf, into your hands; I "only aſk the lives of my men." "I will not be guilty of "any diſhonourable action," replied the Spaniſh commander. "Had we taken you in fight, in open ſea, or upon our

" coaſts, your ſhip would have been ours, and you would " have been our priſoners. But as you are overtaken by a " ſtorm, and are driven into this port from the fear of being " ſhipwrecked, I do, and ought to forget that my nation " is at war with yours. You are men, and ſo are we; you " are in diſtreſs, and have a right to our pity. You are at " liberty to unload and refit your veſſel; and if you want " it, you may trade in this port to pay your charges; you " may then go away, and you will have a paſs to carry you " ſafe beyond the Bermudas. If after this you ſhould be " taken, you will be a lawful prize; but, at this moment, " I ſee in Engliſhmen, only ſtrangers for whom humanity " claims our aſſiſtance."

Spaniards! incomprehenſible race of men, tell me, ſince ſuch are your feelings, and ſince you can ſpeak thus to an enemy, delivered into your power by the winds, why have you not known how to reſpect the innocent ſavage, proſtrate at your feet, who adored you? The reaſon of this I conceive to be, that Captain Edwards's ſhip was not loaded with that yellow duſt, the ſight of which changes you into wild beaſts. Perhaps I have calumniated you; but I have ſeen you ſo frequently below your own ſpecies, that I have had good reaſon for doubting of your virtues; eſpecially when you diſplay them to me with a character of heroiſm which affects and aſtoniſhes me. I oppoſe ſuſpicions, perhaps unjuſt ones to my admiration and to my tears which are ready to flow.

The other way is attended with no leſs difficulty and danger. It terminates at a ſmall iſland, that the Engliſh called Crooked iſland, which lies eighty leagues off Jamaica. Ships that come this way muſt commonly ſtrive againſt the eaſterly wind through the whole paſſage, coaſt along cloſe under St. Domingo, in order to keep clear of the flats of Cuba, and then paſs the ſtraits, between the points of theſe two great iſlands, where it is very difficult to eſcape being intercepted by their privateers or their men of war. The navigators coming from the Lucays do not meet with theſe obſtructions.

Revolutions which have happened in the Lucaya iſlands.

It is reckoned that there are about two hundred of theſe iſlands, all of them ſituated to the north of Cuba, and moſt of which are nothing more than rocks juſt riſing above water. Columbus, who diſ-

covered them on his arrival in the New World, and who gave the name of San Salvador to that on which he landed, did not make any ſettlement there. Neither did the Caſtilians afterwards fix upon it; but, in 1507, they carried off all the inhabitants, who ſoon periſhed in the mines, or in the pearl fiſhery. This ſmall archipelago was entirely deſert, when, in 1672, ſome Engliſhmen took poſſeſſion of Providence iſland; they were driven from thence ſeven or eight years afterwards, by the orders of the court of Madrid, but returned in 1690, and were again expelled in 1703 by the Spaniards and French united. The iſland was peopled again by a particular event.

In 1714, ſome ſhips richly laden were ſwallowed up by a ſtorm upon the coaſts of Florida. The treaſures which they contained belonged to the Spaniards, who cauſed them to be dived for. So rich a prey tempted ſome of the inhabitants of Jamaica. The Spaniards refuſed to ſhare with them, and Jennings, the boldeſt among them, had recourſe to arms, to ſupport what he called a natural and undeniable right. The dread of being ſeverely puniſhed, for having diſturbed the peace which Europe had for ſo long a time been anxious to obtain, obliged him to turn pirate. His companions were ſoon numerous enough to make it neceſſary to multiply his armaments. The Lucays became their place of retreat. It was from thence that theſe robbers ſallied forth to attack all veſſels without diſtinction, Engliſh as well as others. The nations were apprehenſive of ſeeing renewed, in the New World, thoſe ſcenes of horror which had been diſplayed there by the ancient freebooters, when George I, rouſed by the clamours of his people and by the wiſhes of his parliament, ſent out, in 1719, a ſufficient force to ſubdue theſe pirates. The moſt determined of them refuſed the amneſty which was offered them, and went to infeſt the coaſts of Aſia and Africa with their robberies. The reſt increaſed the colony which Woods Rogers brought with him from Europe.

This colony may at this day conſiſt of three or four thouſand perſons, half of whom are ſettled at Providence, where Fort Naſſau hath been conſtructed, and which hath a harbour ſufficient for ſmall veſſels; the reſt are diſtributed in the other iſlands. They ſend annually to England to the value of forty or fifty thouſand crowns [from 5,000*l.* to

6,250l.] of cotton, wood for dying, and live turtle; and with their ſalt they pay for the proviſions which North America ſupplies them with.

Although the ſoil of the Lucays cannot be compared to that of ſeveral of the other colonies, yet it would be ſufficient to afford plenty of ſubſiſtence, by labour, to a population much more conſiderable than that which is at preſent found there, in free people or in ſlaves. The great neglect of its cultures muſt be attributed to the firſt manners, and preſent propenſities, of the inhabitants. Theſe iſlands, which on one ſide are ſeparated from Florida by the channel of Bahama, form on the other a long chain, which terminates at the point of Cuba. It is there that begin the iſlands called Turk's iſlands, or Caicos, which continue the chain as far as towards the middle of the northern coaſt of St. Domingo. So favourable a poſition for piracy hath turned the views of the inhabitants towards a cruiſing life. They are ever eager to engage in hoſtilities, which may put the Spaniſh and French productions into their hands. The Bermudas exhibit a more tranquil ſcene.

Poverty of the Bermudas.

THIS ſmall archipelago, about three hundred leagues diſtant from that of the Antilles, was diſcovered, in 1527, by the Spaniard John Bermudas, who gave his name to it, but did not land there. Ferdinand Camelo, a Portugueſe, obtained in 1572, of Philip II, a grant of it, which did not take effect. The French navigator Barbotiere was ſhipwrecked there in 1593, but thought no more of it after he had quitted it. The ſhip of George Sommers was broken to pieces there in 1609. With the wrecks of this ſhip a ſmall veſſel was conſtructed, which had the good fortune to arrive ſafe in England.

Three years after, a company was formed in London to people the Bermudas, which were entirely uninhabited. Sixty men were ſent there, and they were ſoon followed by many more. They occupied at firſt St. George, the one of theſe iſlands which had the beſt harbour; and in proceſs of time they took poſſeſſion of all thoſe which were ſuſceptible of culture. The land was exactly meaſured, and diſtributed among the inhabitants, in proportion as their families were more or leſs numerous.

The accounts that were propagated of the ſalubrity and mildneſs of the climate, attracted coloniſts from all parts of the Britiſh empire. Inhabitants reſorted thither from the Antilles for the recovery of their health, and from the northern colonies to enjoy their fortune in peace. Many royaliſts retired there, in expectation of the death of their oppreſſor Cromwell. Waller, among the reſt, that charming poet, who was an enemy to that tyrannical deliverer, croſſed the ſeas, and celebrated theſe fortuntae iſlands, inſpired by the influence of the air, and the beauty of the country, which are always favourable to the poet. He imparted his enthuſiaſm to the fair ſex. The Engliſh ladies never thought themſelves handſome or well dreſſed, unleſs they had ſmall Bermuda hats made with palm leaves.

But at laſt the charm was broken, and theſe iſlands fell into that contempt which their inſignificance deſerved. They are very numerous, and their whole compaſs is but ſix or ſeven leagues. The ſoil is very indifferent, and there is not a ſingle ſpring to water it. There is no water to drink but what is taken from wells and reſervoirs. Maize, vegetables, and excellent fruits, afford plenty of wholeſome food; but there are no ſuperfluous commodities for exportation; yet chance has collected under this pure and temperate ſky four or five thouſand inhabitants; poor, but happy in being unobſerved. Their connections with England do not annually exceed 120,000 livres [5,000l.] and thoſe which they have formed with the American continent are ſcarcely more extenſive.

In order to render the circumſtances of this weak colony more eaſy, it hath been ſucceſſively propoſed to cultivate ſilk, vines, and cochineal there; but none of theſe projects have been carried into execution. Induſtry hath been confined to the manufacturing of ſail cloth, an occupation which is naturally connected with the conſtruction of thoſe ſmall veſſels made of cedar or acajou wood, which have never been equalled upon the globe, either for their ſailing or for their duration.

The principal inhabitants of the Bermuda iſlands formed a ſociety in 1765, the ſtatutes of which are, perhaps, the moſt reſpectable monument that ever dignified humanity. Theſe virtuous citizens engaged themſelves to form a library of all books of huſbandry, in whatever language they had

been written; to procure to all capable perſons of both ſexes an employment ſuitable to their diſpoſition; to beſtow a reward on every man who had introduced into the colony any new art, or contributed to the improvement of any one already known; to give a penſion to every daily workman, who, after having aſſiduouſly continued his labour, and maintained a good character for forty years, ſhould not have been able to lay by a ſtock ſufficient to allow him to paſs his latter days in quiet; and laſtly, to indemnify every individual who ſhould have been oppreſſed either by the miniſter or the magiſtrate.

May theſe advantages ever be preſerved to thoſe induſtrious, though indigent people; happy in their labour and in their poverty, which keeps their morals untainted! They enjoy, in a ſtate of innocence, the benefits of a pure and ſerene ſky, and preſerve tranquillity of mind with health. The poiſon of luxury has never infected them. They are not themſelves addicted to envy, nor do they excite it in others. The rage of ambition and war is extinguiſhed upon their coaſts, as the ſtorms of the ocean that ſurround them are broken. The virtuous man would willingly croſs the ſeas to enjoy the ſight of their frugality. May the winds never convey to them the account of the events of the world in which we live! They then learn—but, alas!—my imagination wanders, the pen drops from my hand, and they ſhall receive no information from me.

Such were the poſſeſſions of the Engliſh in the American archipelago, when the ſucceſſes of the war which ended in 1763 gave to the domains of that power a conſiderable increaſe of extent, of which Granada was the richeſt part.

Granada was firſt occupied by the French.

THIS iſland hath twenty-one leagues in circumference, ſix in its greateſt breadth, which is from north to ſouth, and four from eaſt to weſt. Its territory, though very uneven, is in general fertile, and ſuſceptible of ſome kind of culture, according to its quality, and to its expoſure, which is not ſufficiently attended to. The ſoil, however, becomes leſs productive, in proportion to its diſtance from the coaſts. The cauſe of this, perhaps, may be, that the rains, which are too frequent at the foot of the moun-

tains, even in thoſe ſeaſons when the reſt of the iſland is afflicted by droughts, keep the neighbouring grounds, which are almoſt all clayey, in a ſtate of freſhneſs and moiſture, which deſtroys their richneſs, and conſequently their fertility.

The weſtern part of the iſland is watered by ten rivers, the northern part by three, the eaſtern part by eight, and the ſouthern part by five. Beſide theſe ſprings, which are all conſiderable enough to work ſugar-mills, there are ſeveral others leſs conſiderable, but very uſeful to the coffee plantations.

The neighbouring continent ſhelters Granada from thoſe fatal hurricanes which carry deſolation in ſo many other iſlands; and nature hath multiplied the creeks, the bays, and the harbours, which are favourable for the exportation of proviſions. Its principal port is called Baſſeterre, or St. George, which would furniſh a ſafe retreat to ſixty men of war.

Though the French, acquainted with the fertility of Granada, had formed, as early as the year 1638, the project of ſettling there, yet they never carried it into execution till the year 1651. At their arrival they gave a few hatchets, ſome knives, and a barrel of brandy, to the chief of the ſavages they found there; and imagining they had purchaſed the iſland with theſe trifles, aſſumed the ſovereignty, and ſoon acted as tyrants. The Caribs, unable to contend with them by open force, took the method which weakneſs always inſpires to repel oppreſſion; they murdered all whom they found alone and defenceleſs. The troops that were ſent to ſupport the infant colony, found no ſafer or more expeditious way than to deſtroy all the natives. The remainder of theſe miſerable ſavages took refuge upon a ſteep rock, preferring rather to throw themſelves down alive from the top of it, than to fall into the hands of an implacable enemy. The French inconſiderately called this rock *le mont des ſauteurs*, the hill of the leapers; and it ſtill retains that name.

How was it poſſible that theſe frivolous people could loſe, in diſtant countries, that vein of pleaſantry which they preſerve in their own, even in the midſt of the greateſt calamities! They are not a cruel people; but the natural cheerfulneſs which accompanies the Frenchman in tents, in the midſt of camps, upon the field of battle, upon a mat-

traſs in an hoſpital, where he may have been laid, covered with wounds, and of which he is expiring, will ſuggeſt to him ſome ridiculous expreſſion, which will produce a ſmile in the companions of his misfortunes; and this contraſt of character with ſituation will manifeſt itſelf in the ſame manner among all Frenchmen, and among ſome perſons of a ſingular turn in all the countries in the world.

They were juſtly puniſhed for all theſe cruelties, by a rapacious, violent, and inflexible governor. Moſt of the coloniſts, no longer able to endure his tyranny, retired to Martinico, and thoſe who remained on the iſland condemned him to death. In the whole court of juſtice that formally tried this miſcreant, there was only one man who could write, and his name was Archangeli. A farrier was the perſon that impeached, who, inſtead of the ſignature, ſealed with a horſe-ſhoe; and Archangeli, who performed the office of clerk, wrote gravely round it, *Marque de Monſieur de la Brie, conſeiller raporteur:* Mark of Mr. de la Brie, counſel for the court.

It was apprehended that the court of France would not ratify this extraordinary ſentence, paſſed with ſuch unuſual formalities, though dictated by common ſenſe. Moſt of the judges of the crime, and witneſſes of the execution, diſappeared from Granada. None remained, except thoſe whoſe obſcurity ſcreened them from the purſuit of the laws. The eſtimate taken in 1700 ſhews, that there were on the iſland no more than 251 white people, 53 free ſavages or mulattoes, and 525 ſlaves. The uſeful animals were reduced to 64 horſes, and 569 head of horned cattle. The whole culture conſiſted of three plantations of ſugar, and fifty-two of indigo.

The face of things was totally changed towards the year 1714; and this alteration was effected by Martinico. That iſland was then laying the foundation of a ſplendour that was to aſtoniſh all nations. It ſent immenſe productions to France, and received valuable commodities in return, which were moſt of them ſent to the Spaniſh coaſts. Its ſhips touched at Granada in their way to take in refreſhments. The trading privateers, who undertook this navigation, taught the people of that iſland the value of their ſoil, which only required cultivation. The execution of every project is facilitated by commerce. Some traders

furniſhed the inhabitants with ſlaves and utenſils to erect ſugar plantations. An open account was eſtabliſhed between the two colonies. Granada was clearing its debts gradually by its rich produce; and the balance was on the point of being cloſed, when the war in 1744 interrupted the communication between the two iſlands, and at the ſame time ſtopped the progreſs of the moſt important culture of the New World. At that time, cotton, cacao, and particularly coffee trees, were planted; and during the continuance of hoſtilities, they acquired a ſufficient growth to yield plentifully. Theſe uſeful trees were not abandoned after the peace of 1748; but the culture of the ſugar-canes was then puſhed with an eagerneſs proportioned to their importance. A ſeries of misfortunes, too much merited, ſoon deprived the mother-country of the great advantages it flattered itſelf with from this colony.

The paſſionate deſire of premature and unbounded enjoyment, that malady which hath tainted the government of a nation which yet deſerves the affection of her maſters; that prodigality which reaps when it ſhould ſow, which deſtroys the paſt with one hand, and the future with the other, which exhauſts and conſumes the ſtock by anticipating the income; that confuſion which reſults from the diſtreſſes any ſtate muſt neceſſarily be reduced to, that has neither principles nor experience, that has power without views, and means without conduct; that anarchy that prevails at the helm; that precipitation, that caballing among inferiors; the impropriety, or total want of projects; on one hand, the audacity of doing any thing with impunity; on the other, the fear of ſpeaking even for the public good: this concurrence of long ſucceeding evils has thrown Granada into the hands of Great Britain, which is confirmed in the poſſeſſion of this conqueſt by the treaty of 1763.

Events at Granada ſince it is fallen under the Britiſh.

THE Engliſh did not make a fortunate beginning. A great number of them reſolved to have plantations upon an iſland, of which the higheſt opinion had previouſly been formed; and, in their enthuſiaſm, they purchaſed them for much more than their real value. This paſſion, which expelled the ancient coloniſts,

who were inured to the climate, drew thirty-five or thirty-ſix millions of livres [from 1,458,333l. 6s. 8d. to 1,500,000l.] out of the mother-country. This imprudence was followed by another. The new proprietors, miſled, no doubt, by national pride, have ſubſtituted new methods to thoſe of their predeceſſors. They attempted to alter the mode of living among their ſlaves. The negroes, who from their ignorance are more attached to their old cuſtoms than other men, revolted. It was found neceſſary to ſend out troops, and to ſhed blood. The whole colony was filled with ſuſpicions. Maſters, who had been under the neceſſity of uſing violent methods, were afraid of being burnt or maſſacred in their own habitations. The labours declined, and were even totally ſuſpended. Tranquillity was at length reſtored, but it was ſoon ſucceeded by a new ſtorm.

Throughout the whole extent of the Britiſh empire, the Roman catholics are rigorouſly deprived of the leaſt influence in public affairs. When the miniſtry eſtabliſhed the Engliſh government at Grenada, they thought proper to deviate from theſe generally-received principles; and they permitted all the ancient inhabitants, of whatever religion they might be, to give their vote in the aſſemblies of the colony. This innovation met with the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance; but at laſt parliament, which had got rid of ſome of its prejudices, declared in favour of the adminiſtration, and catholics, as well as others, were allowed to attend to the common intereſts of the colony.

The predilection which George III had ſhewn for the French, who were become his ſubjects, made him imagine that his commands would meet with no oppoſition in a ſettlement of which they ſtill formed the greateſt number. In this perſuaſion, he ordered that the duty of four and a half per cent. upon productions on their exportation, which, in an exceſs of zeal, all the Britiſh iſlands, except Jamaica, had very anciently granted, ſhould be levied at Granada. The power of doing this was diſputed with him. The cauſe was formally tried, and the deciſion was not favourable to the monarch.

This triumph elated the minds of the coloniſts. In order to accelerate the cultures, they had borrowed large ſums from the monied people of the mother-country. Theſe

debts, which amounted to 50,000,000 of livres [2,083,333l. 6s. 8d.] were not paid at the appointed time. The creditors had recourſe to the rigour of the law, which authoriſed them to ſeize the plantations that had been mortgaged to them, to put them up to public ſale, and to exact the full value of them eight months after. This ſeverity ſpread univerſal conſternation. The legiſlative body of the iſland, in their deſpair, paſſed a bill on the 6th of June 1774, which divided the value of the acquiſition into five payments, and which protracted the laſt payment to the term of thirty-two months. The ſecret motive of this ſingular act was undoubtedly to put it in the power of the debtors to bid for their own eſtates, and by this contrivance to procure them delays, which they would in vain have expected from the commiſeration of their creditors.

A meaſure ſo bold excited a tumult throughout England. It was generally thought an injurious thing, that a very ſmall part of the empire ſhould arrogate to itſelf a right of annihilating engagements contracted under the ſanction of a law univerſally eſtabliſhed, in the good faith of trade. This indignation was communicated even to the iſlands of America, which underſtood clearly, that no further credit could be expected, if confidence were not ſettled upon a firm baſis. The Britons of the Old and of the New World united in urging the ſupreme power to repair without delay this great breach made in the important and impreſcriptible right of property.

Cultures of Granada, and of the Granadines.

THE parliament, whatever might be the diſtreſs of this valuable acquiſition, thought in the ſame manner as the people.

In 1771 and 1775, St. George was reduced to aſhes by dreadful fires. The colony experienced other calamities; and notwithſtanding this, its productions have increaſed threefold ſince it came out of the hands of the French. It is become, under the other hemiſphere, the ſecond of the Engliſh iſlands. Its new mother-country receives from it annually eighteen millions weight of ſugar, which, at 40 livres [1l. 13s. 4d.] the quintal, produce in Europe 7,200,000 livres [300,000l.] one million one hundred thouſand gallons of rum, which, at one livre ten ſols [1s. 3d.]

the gallon, produce 1,650,000 livres [68,750l.] thirty thouſand quintals of coffee, which, at 50 livres [2l. 1s. 8d.] the quintal, produce 1,500,000 livres [62,500l.] three thouſand quintals of cacao, which, at 50 livres [2l. 1s. 8d.] the quintal, produce 150,000 livres [6,250l.] three hundred quintals of indigo, which, at 800 livres [33l. 6s. 8d.] the quintal, produce 140,000 livres [10,000l.] thirteen thouſand quintals of cotton, which, at 150 livres [6l. 5s.] the quintal, produce 1,950,000 livres [81,250l.] this makes in all 12,690,000 livres [528,750l.] but in this revenue is included that which the Granadines produce.

There are a dozen of ſmall iſlands, from three to eight leagues in circumference. They do not afford a ſingle river, and yet the climate is very wholeſome. The ground, covered only with thin buſhes, has not been ſcreened from the ſun for many centuries, and it may be cultivated without its exhaling at any time thoſe noxious vapours which generally attack the planters perpetually elſewhere.

Cariacou, the only one of theſe iſlands which the French have occupied, was at firſt frequented by turtle fiſhermen, who, in the intervals of leiſure afforded them by their occupation, attempted ſome kinds of culture. Their ſmall number was ſoon increaſed by ſeveral of the inhabitants of Guadaloupe, who had been driven from their habitations by miſchievous inſects. Theſe good people, aſſiſted by eight or nine hundred ſlaves, employed themſelves with ſucceſs in the culture of cotton. This ſhrub was conveyed by the Engliſh to the other Granadine iſlands, and they even formed a ſugar plantation at Bequia, and two at Cariacou.

The iſland of Tabago becomes a Britiſh poſſeſſion.

Tabago, which was acquired by Great Britain at the ſame period and by the ſame treaty, is ſeparated from the Spaniſh iſland of Trinidad only by a channel of nine leagues over. This poſſeſſion hath ten leagues in length and four in its greateſt breadth. It hath a harbour upon its eaſtern coaſt, in which there are twenty-five or thirty feet of water, and another on its northern coaſt, which hath no more than twenty or twenty-five. They are both ſheltered from moſt of the winds, an advantage which that on the ſouth ſide doth not enjoy.

Among the ſmall mountains which occupy the centre of the iſland, there is one more elevated, the black and reddiſh colour of which ſeems to indicate the ruins of an ancient volcano. It is not expoſed to thoſe dreadful hurricanes that are ſo deſtructive in other parts. Poſſibly it owes this ineſtimable advantage to the vicinity of the continent.

Tabago has formerly been exceedingly populous, if we may credit ſome traditional accounts. The inhabitants long withſtood the fierce and frequent attacks of the ſavages from the continent, who were ſtubborn and irreconcilable enemies. At length, wearied out with theſe inroads, which were inceſſantly renewed, they diſperſed into the adjacent iſlands.

That which they had forſaken lay open to invaſion from Europe, when two hundred natives of Fleſſingen landed there in 1632, to lay the foundation of a Dutch colony. The neighbouring Indians joined with the Spaniards of the iſland of Trinidad, to oppoſe an eſtabliſhment that gave umbrage to both. Whoever attempted to ſtop their fury, was murdered or taken priſoner; and the few who eſcaped into the woods ſoon deſerted the iſland.

For twenty years the Dutch forgot a ſettlement which was only noted for the diſaſters of its origin. In 1654 a freſh colony was ſent there, which was driven away in 1666. The Engliſh were ſoon deprived of this conqueſt by the French; but Lewis XIV, ſatisfied with having conquered it, reſtored it to his ally the republic of Holland. This ſettlement ſucceeded no better than the other colonies of that commercial nation that were engaged in agriculture. The motives that determine ſo many perſons from other countries to go to America, ought never to have influenced the Dutch. Their own country affords every poſſible advantage for trade, and they have no need to go abroad to make their fortune. A happy toleration, purchaſed, like their liberty, with rivers of blood, hath at length left the conſciences of all men free; ſo that no religious ſcruples can induce timorous minds to baniſh themſelves from their native country. The government makes ſuch ample proviſion for the relief and employment of the poor, that none are driven by deſpair to go and clear a foreign land, which uſually deſtroys the firſt cultivators. Tabago, therefore, never had more than 1,200 men, employed

in the culture of a little tobacco, cotton, and indigo, and of ſix ſugar plantations.

The colony was confined to this ſcanty exertion of induſtry, when it was attacked by the very ſame nation that had reſtored it to its former rights of poſſeſſion and property. In the month of February 1677, a French fleet, deſtined to ſeize upon Tabago, fell in with the Dutch fleet that was ſent out to oppoſe this expedition. They engaged in one of the roads of the iſland, which became famous for this memorable action in an age abounding with great events. The obſtinacy and valour on both ſides were ſuch, that the fight ſtill continued, when every ſhip was diſmaſted and unrigged, and no ſailors left to work them. The engagement did not ceaſe till twelve veſſels were burnt, and a great number were ſunk. The aſſailers loſt the feweſt men, and the defendants kept poſſeſſion of the iſland.

But d'Eſtrées, who was determined to take it, landed there the ſame year in the month of December. There was then no fleet to obſtruct or retard his progreſs. A bomb thrown from his camp, blew up their powder magazine. This proved, as it generally does, a deciſive ſtroke; and the enemy, unable to reſiſt, ſurrendered at diſcretion. The conquerors availed themſelves to the utmoſt of the right of war: not content with razing the fortifications, they burnt the plantations, ſeized upon all the ſhips in the harbour, and tranſported the inhabitants from the iſland. The conqueſt of this place was ſecured to France by the peace that ſoon followed an action, in which defeat was attended with no marks of diſgrace and victory with no advantage.

The court of Verſailles neglected this important iſland to ſuch a degree, as not to ſend a ſingle man thither. Perhaps, in the intoxication of falſe grandeur, they beheld with indifferenee whatever was merely uſeful. They even entertained an unfavourable opinion of Tabago, and imagined it was only a barren rock. This error gained ground from the behaviour of the French, who, finding themſelves too numerous at Martinico, went over to the iſlands of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica. Theſe were precarious poſſeſſions, and the ſoil of which was of an indifferent quality. Could they poſſibly have been preferred to an iſland where the land was better, and the property inconteſtable?

Such was the reaſoning of a government, which was not then ſufficiently enlightened concerning the trade and plantations of the colonies, to diſcern the true motives of this diſlike the ſubjects had to Tabago.

An infant colony, eſpecially when it is founded with ſlender means, cannot ſubſiſt without immediate aſſiſtance. It cannot make any progreſs but in proportion as it finds conſumption for its firſt productions. Theſe are generally of a common ſort, are not worth the expences of exportation to any diſtance, and therefore will ſcarce ſell but in the neighbourhood, and ought inſenſibly, and by moderate profits, to lead to the undertaking of thoſe great cultures which are the object of commerce between Europe and the Leeward iſlands. But Tabago was too remote from the French ſettlements, to attract any inhabitants by ſuch a gradation of ſucceſs. Leſs fruitful iſlands, that were nearer to their reſources, were preferred.

The low condition into which it was fallen, did not prevent it from attracting the attention of England. That proud iſland, which thinks herſelf the queen of all others, becauſe ſhe is the moſt flouriſhing, pretended to have an undoubted right to that of Tabago, becauſe it had once been in her poſſeſſion for ſix months. Her forces have confirmed her pretenſions; and the peace of 1763 has juſtified the ſucceſs of her arms, by ceding to her a poſſeſſion, which ſhe will turn to better account than the French ever did.

Plan for clearing the American iſlands.

ALMOST all the ſettlements in the Antilles have proved fatal to the firſt coloniſts, who, acting by chance in times of little experience, without the concurrence of the mother-country, committed perpetual blunders. Their avidity would not ſuffer them to follow the method of the natives, who, to abate the influence of a conſtant ſcorching ſun, uſed to ſeparate the ſmall parcels of land which they were forced to clear, with large ſpaces covered with trees and ſhady thickets. Theſe ſavages, inſtructed by experience, fixed their dwellings in the middle of the woods, to preſerve themſelves from the quick and dangerous exhalations of a ground newly turned up.

The deſtroyers of this prudent people, being too eager

after their profits, neglected this method as too ſlow; and being impatient to cultivate all, precipitately cut down whole foreſts. Thick vapours immediately aroſe from the ground, which was heated, for the firſt time, by the rays of the ſun. Theſe increaſed as the earth was ſtirred up for ſowing and planting. Their malignant particles inſinuated themſelves into every pore and every organ of the huſbandman; who, by hard labour, was conſtantly kept in a profuſe perſpiration. The circulation of the fluids was ſtopped, all the viſcera were dilated, the body ſwelled, the ſtomach could no longer perform its functions, and death enſued. Thoſe who eſcaped theſe peſtilential influences by day, loſt their lives by ſleeping in huts haſtily run up upon a freſh ſoil, where vegetation was too active, and ſo unwholeſome, that it conſumed the men before it could nouriſh the plants.

From theſe obſervations it appears, that the following would be the beſt plan which could be purſued in the eſtabliſhing of a new colony. At our firſt arrival, it ſhould be obſerved what winds are moſt prevalent in the archipelago of America, and it will be found that they blow regularly from the ſouth-eaſt and the north-eaſt. If we were at liberty to chooſe, and met with no obſtacle from the nature of the ground, we ſhould take care not to fix on the leeward ſide, leſt the wind ſhould be continually bringing to us the vapours of the new-tilled grounds, and infect, from the exhalations of the new plantations, a piece of land that might have been purified in time. Our colony ſhould therefore be founded on the windward ſide of whatever country we mean to cultivate. Firſt, all the habitations ſhould be built in the woods, and not a tree be ſuffered to be felled about them. The woods are wholeſome; the refreſhing ſhade they afford, and the cool air we breathe in them, even in the heat of the day, are a preſervative againſt that exceſſive perſpiration, which is the deſtruction of moſt Europeans, by the dryneſs and acrimony of an inflammable blood, deprived of its fluid parts. Fires ſhould be kept in the huts all night, to deſpel any noxious air that might have entered. This cuſtom, which is conſtantly practiſed in ſome parts of Africa, would be as ſucceſsful in America, conſidering the analogy between the two climates.

After having taken theſe precautions, we might begin

to cut down the woods; but it ſhould be at leaſt at fifty toiſes diſtance from the huts. When the ground is laid bare, the ſlaves ſhould not be ſent out to their work till ten o'clock in the morning, when the ſun has had time to divide the vapours, and the wind to drive them away. The four hours loſt after ſun-riſe, would be fully compenſated by ſparing the ſtrength of the labourers, and by the preſervation of the human race. This attention ſhould be continued as long as any lands are clearing or ſowing, till the ground was thoroughly purged and ſettled; when the coloniſts might be allowed to fix upon it, and be employed without the leaſt apprehenſions at all hours in the day. Experience has already juſtified the neceſſity of all theſe meaſures.

Misfortunes which the Engliſh have ſuffered at Tabago.

THE Engliſh and their ſlaves not having followed the plan we have been tracing, periſhed in great numbers at Tabago, though moſt of them came there together from the neighbouring colonies. Enlightened by this diſaſter, they ſettled to windward of the iſland, and death ceaſed its ravages. The cuſtom which the Britiſh government have of ſelling the ſoil of the iſlands, and the formalities inſeparable from ſuch a ſyſtem, retarded the formation of a ſettlement, which by purſuing other maxims, perhaps leſs prudent, might have been begun immediately after the peace. It was not till 1766, that fourteen thouſand acres of ground were allotted and divided into ſhares of five hundred acres each. New allotments were afterwards made, but no planter was ever allowed to purchaſe more than one ſhare.

The iſland, the ſoil of which hath been found too ſandy, is yet inhabited only by four hundred white people and eight thouſand negroes. They were ſtopped in the beginning of their career by ants, who have devoured the greateſt part of the ſugar canes which have been already planted. The forty thouſand quintals of ſugar which were gathered from thirty plantations have been reduced to one half. This void hath been filled up by cotton, the crop of which is eight hundred thouſand pounds weight, and by indigo, which yields twelve thouſand pounds. St. Vincent hath not experienced a ſimilar calamity.

History of the savages of St. Vincent.

When the Engliſh and French, who for ſome years had been ravaging the Windward iſlands, began to give ſome conſiſtence to their ſettlements, in the year 1660 they agreed that Dominica and St. Vincent ſhould be left to the Caribs as their property. Some of theſe ſavages, who till then had been diſperſed, retired into the former, and the greater part into the latter. There theſe mild and moderate men, lovers of peace and ſilence, lived in the woods, in ſcattered families, under the guidance of an old man, whom his age alone had advanced to the dignity of ruler. The dominion paſſed ſucceſſively into every family, where the oldeſt always became king, that is to ſay, the guide and father of the nation. Theſe ignorant ſavages were ſtill unacquainted with the ſublime art of ſubduing and governing men by force of arms; of maſſacring the inhabitants of a country to get poſſeſſion of their lands; of granting to the conquerors the property, and to the conquered the labours of the conquered country; and, in proceſs of time, of depriving both of the rights and the fruit of their toil by arbitrary taxes.

The population of theſe children of nature was ſuddenly augmented by a race of Africans, whoſe origin was never poſitively aſcertained. It is ſaid, that a ſhip carrying negroes for ſale, foundered on the coaſt of St. Vincent, and the ſlaves who eſcaped the wreck were received as brethren by the ſavages. Others pretend that theſe negroes were deſerters, who ran away from the plantations of the neighbouring colonies. A third tradition ſays, that this foreign race comes from the blacks whom the Caribs took from the Spaniards in the firſt wars between thoſe Europeans and the Indians. If we may credit Du Tertre, the moſt ancient hiſtorian who has written an account of the Antilles, thoſe terrible ſavages, who were ſo inveterate againſt their maſters, ſpared the captive ſlaves, brought them home, and reſtored them to liberty, that they might enjoy life, that is, the common bleſſings of nature, which no man has a right to withhold from any of his fellow-creatures.

Their kindneſs did not ſtop here: for, by whatever chance theſe ſtrangers were brought into the iſland, the proprietors of it gave them their daughters in marriage; and the race that ſprang from this mixture were called black

Caribs. They have preſerved more of the primitive colour of their fathers than of the lighter hue of their mothers. The red Caribs are of a low ſtature; the black Caribs tall and ſtout; and this doubly ſavage race ſpeak with a vehemence that ſeems to reſemble anger.

The arrival of the French at St. Vincent raiſes diſputes between the red and the black Caribs.

In proceſs of time, however, ſome differences aroſe between the two nations. The people of Martinico perceiving this, reſolved to take advantage of their diviſions, and raiſe themſelves on the ruins of both parties. Their pretence was, that the black Caribs gave ſhelter to the ſlaves who deſerted from the French iſlands. Impoſture is always productive of injuſtice. Thoſe who were falſely accuſed were afterwards attacked without reaſon. But the ſmallneſs of the numbers ſent out againſt them; the jealouſy of thoſe who were appointed to command the expedition; the defection of the red Caribs, who refuſed to ſupply ſuch dangerous allies with any of the ſuccours they had promiſed them to act againſt their rivals; the difficulty of procuring ſubſiſtence; the impoſſibility of coming up with enemies who kept themſelves concealed in woods and mountains: all theſe circumſtances conſpired to diſconcert this raſh and violent enterpriſe. It was obliged to be given up, after the loſs of many valuable lives; but the triumph the ſavages obtained did not prevent them from ſuing for peace as ſuppliants. They even invited the French to come and live with them, ſwearing ſincere friendſhip and inviolable concord. The propoſal was agreed to; and the next year, 1719, many of the inhabitants of Martinico removed to St. Vincent.

The firſt who came thither ſettled peaceably, not only with the conſent, but by the aſſiſtance, of the red Caribs. This ſucceſs induced others to follow their example; but theſe, whether from jealouſy, or ſome other motive, taught the ſavages a fatal ſecret. That people, who knew of no property but the fruits of the earth, becauſe they are the reward of labour, learned with aſtoniſhment that they could ſell the earth itſelf, which they had always looked upon as belonging to mankind in general. This knowledge induced them to meaſure and fix boundaries; and from that in-

ſtant peace and happineſs were baniſhed from their iſland. The partition of lands occaſioned diviſions amongſt men. The following were the cauſes of the revolution produced by the ſyſtem of uſurpation.

When the French came to St. Vincent, they brought ſlaves along with them, to clear and till the ground. The black Caribs, ſhocked at the thoughts of reſembling men who were degraded by ſlavery, and fearing that ſome time or other their colour, which betrayed their origin, might be made a pretence for enſlaving them, took refuge in the thickeſt parts of the foreſt. In this ſituation, in order to imprint an indelible mark of diſtinction upon their tribe, that might be a perpetual token of their independence, they flattened the foreheads of all their children as ſoon as they were born. The men and women, whoſe heads could not bend to this ſtrange ſhape, dared no longer appear in public without this viſible ſign of freedom. The next generation appeared as a new race. The flat-headed Caribs, who were nearly of the ſame age, tall, proper men, hardy and fierce, came and erected huts by the ſea-ſide.

They no ſooner knew the price which the Europeans ſet upon the lands they inhabited, than they claimed a ſhare with the other iſlanders. This riſing ſpirit of covetouſneſs was at firſt appeaſed by ſome preſents of brandy, and a few ſabres. But not content with theſe, they ſoon demanded fire-arms, as the red Caribs had; and at laſt they were deſirous of having their ſhare in all future ſales of land, and likewiſe in the produce of paſt ſales. Provoked at being denied a part in this brotherly repartition, they formed into a ſeparate tribe, ſwore never more to aſſociate with the red Caribs, choſe a chief of their own, and declared war.

The numbers of the combatants might be equal, but their ſtrength was not ſo. The black Caribs had every advantage over the red, that induſtry, valour, and boldneſs, muſt ſoon acquire over a weak habit and a timorous diſpoſition. But that ſpirit of equity, which is ſeldom deficient in ſavages, made the conqueror conſent to ſhare with the vanquiſhed all the territory lying to the leeward. It was the only one which both parties were deſirous of poſſeſſing, becauſe there they were ſure of receiving preſents from the French.

The black Caribs gained nothing by the agreement which they themſelves had drawn up. The new planters who

came to the iſland always landed and ſettled near the red Caribs, where the coaſt was moſt acceſſible. This preference rouſed that enmity which was but ill extinguiſhed. The war broke out again. The red Caribs, who were always beaten, retired to windward of the iſland. Many took to their canoes, and went over to the continent, or to Tabago; and the few that remained lived ſeparate from the blacks.

The black Caribs, conquerors and maſters of all the leeward coaſt, required of the Europeans that they ſhould again buy the lands they had already purchaſed. A Frenchman attempted to ſhew the deed of his purchaſe of ſome land which he had bought of a red Carib; "I know not," ſays a black Carib, "what thy paper ſays; but read what is "written on my arrow. There you may ſee, in characters "which do not lie, that if you do not give me what I de-"mand, I will go and burn your houſe to-night." In this manner did a people, who had not learnt to read, argue with thoſe who derived ſuch conſequence from knowing how to write. They made uſe of the right of force, with as much aſſurance, and as little remorſe, as if they had been acquainted with divine, political, and civil, right.

Time, which brings on a change of meaſures with a change of intereſts, put an end to theſe diſturbances. The French became, in their turn, the ſtrongeſt. They no longer ſpent their time in breeding poultry, and cultivating vegetables, caſſava, maize, and tobacco, in order to ſell them at Martinico. In leſs than twenty years, more important cultures employed eight hundred white men and three thouſand blacks. Such was the ſituation of St. Vincent when it fell into the hands of the Engliſh; and was ſecured to them by the treaty of 1763.

St. Vincent falls into the hands of the Engliſh.

THIS iſland, which may have forty leagues in circumference, is mountainous, but interſected by excellent valleys, and watered by a few rivers. It was in the weſtern part of it that the French had begun the culture of cacao and of cotton, and had made conſiderable advances in that of coffee. The conquerors formed there ſome ſugar plantations. The impoſſibility of multiplying them upon an uneven ſoil, which is full of ravines, made them

deſirous of occupying the plains towards the eaſt. The ſavages, who had taken refuge there, refuſed to quit them; and recourſe was had to arms to compel them to it. The reſiſtance which they oppoſed to the thunders of European tyranny, was not, and could not poſſibly be maintained without great difficulty.

An officer was meaſuring out the ground which had juſt been taken poſſeſſion of, when the detachment that accompanied him was unexpectedly attacked, and almoſt totally deſtroyed, on the 25th of March 1775. It was generally believed that the unfortunate perſons who had juſt been deprived of their poſſeſſions, were the authors of this violence; and the troops put themſelves in motion to deſtroy them.

Fortunately, it was determined in time, that the Caribs were innocent; that they had taken or maſſacred ſeveral fugitive ſlaves who had been guilty of ſuch cruelties; and that they had ſworn not to ſtop till they had purged the iſland of thoſe vagabonds, whoſe enormities were often imputed to them. In order to confirm the ſavages in this reſolution, by the allurement of rewards, the legiſlative body paſſed a bill to enſure a gratuity of five moïdes, or 120 livres [5l.] to any one who ſhould bring the head of a negro, who ſhould have deſerted within three months.

Great Britain hath not hitherto gained any great advantage from theſe barbarities. St. Vincent ſtill reckons no more than five hundred white men, and ſeven or eight thouſand negroes. Their labours yield no more than twelve hundred quintals of cotton, ſix millions weight of very fine ſugar, and three hundred and ſixty thouſand gallons of rum. Theſe productions grow upon a very light kind of ſoil, and which for that reaſon, it is thought, will be ſoon exhauſted. This is an opinion generally received in America, and it will be proper to examine whether it be well founded.

Undoubtedly, the rains which fall in torrents upon a broken country, muſt more readily carry away a ſandy ſoil than a clayey one, the particles of which ſhall adhere more ſtrongly to each other. But is it underſtood in what manner a ſoil can be exhauſted? Can it be by the loſs of thoſe earthy particles, into which the plants it produces are at length reduced, and of which it ſeems to be deprived, when the plants do not rot upon the ſpot where they have

been cultivated? In anſwer to this, it is proved from the experiments of Van Helmont, that plants do not take away any ſenſible weight from the ſoil; and that it is the moiſture with which the earth is watered, that is the only cauſe of vegetation. If this exhauſting of the ſoil be ſuppoſed to ariſe from the loſs of the ſalts which it furniſhes for the ſucceſſive growth of the plants, it is equally proved, by the numerous experiments of M. Tillet, and of ſeveral other natural philoſophers, that the ground is nothing more than a matrix, in which the germina of plants receive their growth, which they ſeem only to derive from heat and moiſture. All theſe experiments collected, ſeem alſo to prove, that the water alone, whether conveyed by natural or artificial means, contain all the ſalts and all the principles that are to concur in producing this growth.

Let us therefore content ourſelves with ſaying, that ſuch or ſuch a ſpecies of earth may be more or leſs eaſily put into a ſtate fit to receive and to preſerve the quantity of water neceſſary for completing vegetation. The moſt trifling labour ſtirs up a light ſoil: it is then eaſily penetrated by the ſlighteſt rain: but a hard rain preſſes it together, and the ſun eaſily raiſing the moiſture, which in this ſtate of compreſſion it could only imbibe to a very little depth, deprives it of the only ſpecies of nouriſhment which it furniſhed to the plant, and without which the plant could not ſubſiſt. Nevertheleſs, the ſeaſon is not called in queſtion; and much leſs the ignorance of him who knows not how to moderate its effects. Prejudice determines the ſoil to be exhauſted and ruined. In future, it is worked only with regret, and conſequently very ill. It is abandoned, while nothing more was wanting than a proper ſpecies of culture to enrich the proprietor who neglects it.

A ſomewhat leſs degree of friability conſtitutes what is called a ſtrong ſoil, which requires more tillage, and is of a more laborious nature; but when once it is prepared, manured, and watered, the ſtiff ſoil preſerves for a much longer time its moiſture, which is a neceſſary vehicle of the ſalts, whether they be continually conveyed, and ſucceſſively renewed, by the rains, or by artificial watering.

Of what uſe then, it will be ſaid, is dung? It ſerves to raiſe up more eaſily, and more generally, the ſoil, by the fermentation which it excites in it, and to keep it for a

longer time raiſed and ſupplied, either by its active particles, which can only unfold themſelves gradually in the compact ſoils, ſuch as thoſe of the ſecond ſpecies, which are divided by heating them, or by its oily particles, which fattening the ſoil of the firſt ſpecies, retain in it, for a longer time, the moiſture which its too great laxity, and the incoherence of its particles, would ſoon allow to eſcape.

Dung, therefore, properly applied, and according to its quality, partly ſupplies the place of tillage; but can tillage ſupply the place of dung? We are inclined to think it would not for light ſoils, which, fortunately, require but little dunging; but we believe it would in ſtrong ſoils, and theſe require a great deal of dung. But nothing can ſupply the place of rain; which, in America, when it is plentiful, renders all the ſoils nearly equal. Some fruits brought forward by the ſeaſon, rot in the moſt excellent ſoils: but almoſt all of them arrive at perfection in the moſt ordinary ſoils. In America there is no rainy ſeaſon which is not fruitful; while, in a dry ſeaſon, the income diminiſhes ſometimes by one half.

The only object that deſerves the attention of the inhabitants of St. Vincent, as well as of all perſons who are in poſſeſſion of a light ſoil, in whatever zone it may be ſituated, muſt therefore be, to fix their plantations upon their loweſt mountains, to prefer the culture of ſuch plants as will cover the ſoil ſooneſt, and will leave it leſs expoſed to the immediate ſhock of heavy rains, which compreſs it more and more when it is not tilled, and which drag it away when it is prepared; to chooſe eſpecially that plan of cultivation, which, while it ſhall not counteract the efforts of the plant too much, ſhall ſupply it with a degree of growth neceſſary to defend the ſoil, at the time when it ſtands moſt in need of it, in that ſeaſon when it would be in danger of being ſtripped, in proceſs of time, down to the ſand. While the ſoil ſhall remain covered with any kind of earth, we need not fear its being barren. The ſoil which hath once been ſufficient for the nutrition of any plant, when brought into its primitive ſtate by the care of the cultivator, will for ever be ſufficient for the ſame purpoſes.

Great Britain takes poſſeſſion of Dominica.

DOMENICA was inhabited by its own children. In 1732 nine hundred and thirty-eight Caribs were found there, diſtributed in thirty-two carbets; and three hundred and forty-nine Frenchmen occupied a part of the coaſt, which the ſavages had left to them. Theſe Europeans had no other aſſiſtance, or rather companions of their labours, except twenty-three free mulattoes, and three hundred and thirty-eight ſlaves. They were all employed in breeding poultry, in raiſing proviſions for the conſumption of Martinico, and in cultivating ſeventy-two thouſand two hundred cotton ſhrubs. Theſe trifling productions were afterwards increaſed by the addition of coffee. At length the iſland, at the peace of 1763, when it became an Engliſh poſſeſſion, reckoned ſix hundred white people, and two thouſand negroes.

Since the end of the laſt century, Great Britain, which was advancing towards the dominion of the ſeas, while ſhe accuſed France of aſpiring to the monarchy of the continent, had ſhewed as much eagerneſs for Dominica, as ſhe had in the late negociations, when victory gave her a right to chooſe. Nine pariſhes have ſucceſſively been eſtabliſhed upon this iſland, where, on the firſt of January 1778, the population conſiſted of fifteen hundred and ſeventy-four white people, men, women, and children; five hundred and ſeventy-four mulattoes, or free negroes, and fourteen thouſand three hundred and eight ſlaves.

The cattle of the iſland did not exceed two hundred and eighty-eight horſes, ſeven hundred and ſeven mules, thirty-four aſſes, eighteen hundred and thirty head of horned cattle, nine hundred and ninety-nine hogs, and two thouſand two hundred and twenty-nine ſheep, or goats.

Its cultures conſiſted of ſixty-five ſugar plantations, which occupied five thouſand two hundred and fifty-ſeven acres of ground; three thouſand three hundred and ſixty-nine acres planted with coffee, at the proportion of one thouſand feet per acre; two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven acres planted with cacao, at the proportion of five hundred feet per acre; fourſcore and nine acres planted with cotton, at the proportion of one thouſand feet per acre; ſixty-nine acres of indigo, and ſixty trees of black caſſia.

Its proviſions conſiſted of twelve hundred and two acres

of banana trees, ſixteen hundred and forty-ſeven acres of yams or potatoes, and two thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-nine trenches of manioc.

Nineteen thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-eight acres were taken up by the woods; four thouſand two hundred and ninety-ſix by paſturages and ſavannas; three thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-five acres were reſerved for the crown, and three thouſand four hundred and thirty-four were entirely barren.

This was all that fifteen years of labour had been able to effect upon a ſoil which was exceedingly hilly, and not very fertile.

Diſturbances between the Engliſh of Dominica and the French of the neighbouring iſlands.

This ſettlement was expoſed in its infancy to a moſt flagrant act of diſhoneſty. Several of the planters had obtained conſiderable advances from trade. To avoid paying their debts, they took refuge, with their ſlaves, in the French iſlands, where an open protection was granted them. In vain they were claimed; in vain was it required that they ſhould be compelled to ſatisfy their creditors: every ſolicitation was uſeleſs. The legiſlative body then made a law, which ſecured to all French emigrants the advantage of enjoying, without moleſtation, all the riches they ſhould bring into Dominica.

Let us examine without partiality the conduct of the two nations, and we ſhall find it faulty on both ſides.

And firſt, with reſpect to the French, let me aſk them, if theſe refugees were not at the ſame time thieves? Why therefore did they grant them an aſylum? Why did they refuſe to give them up, when they were claimed? Let us even ſuppoſe that the requiſition had been made in an imperious manner; the buſineſs was to examine the juſtice of the claim, not the manner in which it was made. This was not an occaſion in which it was proper to give a petulent anſwer to a haughty demand. An action which we are urged to by juſtice can never be humiliating. Let the French, for a moment, put themſelves in the place of the creditors, and tell me, whether they would not have ſent to the court of London the ſame repreſentations, and the ſame complaints? and whether they would not have been equal-

ly exaſperated by its ſilence, or by its refuſal? There cannot be two ſyſtems of juſtice.

On the other hand, when by way of repriſal the Engliſh offered an aſylum to the French emigrants, did they not double the ſame fault? Did they not excite to robbery and to deſertion thoſe fraudulent debtors who were inclined to eſcape from the legal purſuit of their creditors? If the nations who divided the New World among themſelves had adopted, in imitation of them, the ſame meaſures, who would have advanced to their coloniſts the ſums they might have wanted? What would have become of America, if this pernicious ſyſtem had manifeſted itſelf at the origin of the conqueſts? What would ſtill become of it if it were univerſally adopted? Let us reflect a moment, and we ſhall be convinced, that a general ſuſpenſion of juſtice would become one of the moſt dreadful calamities that could poſſibly afflict mankind. We ſhall perceive, that ſo fatal an agreement among nations would bring the world back to that ſtate of plundering and barbariſm of which we have not even an idea. What advantage will the Engliſh find, in infeſting themſelves with our villains, and in ſending theirs to us? What concern can we have, or what confidence can we repoſe, in men who are deſtitute of faith towards their fellow-citizens? Do the Engliſh expect more honeſty from ours? If they receive them, why ſhould a third nation expel them? Is it intended that perfidy ſhould wander, with impunity, from one country to another, and ſpread itſelf over the whole ſurface of the globe? I may perhaps exaggerate the conſequences of this proceeding: but in order to judge properly of an action, we muſt conſider the utmoſt extent of its effects. This is a certain way of impreſſing the mind more forcibly with them.

But I may be aſked, in what manner ſhould the Engliſh have acted? In the firſt inſtance, they were right in making the demand. Afterwards, they ſhould have gone down ſword in hand into the aſylums of their deſerters, and ſhould have laid them waſte. Thus it is that they would have ſhewn themſelves brave and upright men. The blood that would have been ſpilt would not have been imputed to them; and they would have been applauded by all the people of Europe, intereſted in the ſame cauſe.

We need not however be ſurpriſed that both the Engliſh

and French ſhould reciprocally grant a retreat to their malefactors, when we daily ſee them arrogating to themſelves the right of ſending them to each other, by baniſhing them from their own country; a law, which is as contrary to the common right, as that which ſhould authoriſe a citizen, whoſe dog ſhould run mad, to let him looſe in the houſe of his neighbour, would be contrary to the right of individuals.

But a man who has two hands, is always a ſpecies of valuable property: he ought therefore not to be concealed. It may alſo be urged, that we have ſome reaſon to expect, ſince there are few inſtances of it, that a wicked man may amend. It is true, there may be one inſtance in a hundred of ſuch an amendment: but the queſtion is, whether, for the chance of having one bad man who may forſake his evil ways, it be prudent to keep a hundred incorrigible villains?

In what conſiſts the importance of Dominica?

THERE was however another diſtant object, excluſive of the care of ſettling plantations, which entered into the extenſive views of the Engliſh. They wiſhed to attract the productions of the French colonies to Dominica, in order that they might ſecure the trade of them to themſelves. It was to carry this great project into execution, that, in 1766, all the ports of the iſland were made free. A number of active and enterpriſing men immediately came from Europe and from North America. Immenſe ſtores of corn, ſalt fiſh, and ſlaves, were formed at Roſeau. This town ſupplied the wants of Martinico, of Guadaloupe, and of St. Lucia; and received in payment, commodities of greater or leſs value. Theſe exchanges would have been even more conſiderable, if by an ill-judged avidity of the treaſury, Great Britain had not herſelf put a reſtraint upon theſe fraudulent connections.

The events which have detached the American continent from England, and the efforts which the French are making to extend their connections in Africa, muſt ſoon reduce the ſtaple of Dominica to nothing, or to a trifle; but it can never be deprived of the advantage of its poſition. Situated between Guadaloupe and Martinico, at only ſeven leagues diſtance from each, it threatens them equally. At both its

extremities, to the north and to the ſouth, are two excellent harbours, from whence the privateers and the fleets may intercept the navigation between the mother-country and its colonies, and even the communication between the two ſettlements. What would be the conſequence if the northern port, known by the name of Prince Rupert, were changed, as it might eaſily be, into a harbour, and ſurrounded with fortifications? This plan, it is ſaid, hath been determined upon in the council of George III. Every circumſtance induces us to believe that it will never be carried into execution; the nation hath too much confidence in its naval forces, ever to incur ſuch an expence.

Laws peculiar to Dominica.

DOMINICA, in theſe latter times, hath drawn the attention of all America, by an event, the cauſes of which may almoſt be traced as far back as the diſcovery of the New World.

Scarce had the Europeans marked the ſoil of the other hemiſphere with their ſanguinary ſteps, than it became neceſſary to procure ſlaves from Africa, in order to clear it. Women were found among this degraded race, whom the ſcarcity of females rendered agreeable to the firſt coloniſts. From this alliance, which ſeemed to be reprobated by nature, there aroſe a mixed generation, whoſe chains were often broken by paternal tenderneſs. A ſentiment of goodneſs, innate in man, gave liberty, on ſome occaſions, to other ſlaves; and a ſtill greater number of captives purchaſed their freedom. In vain did a ſuſpicious and provident ſyſtem of policy exclaim, with vehemence, againſt this cuſtom, applauded by humanity: the beſtowing of freedom upon ſlaves was ſtill continued; and even became more frequent.

The freedmen, however, were not put upon an entire equality with their former maſters. The laws generally imprinted a mark of inferiority on this claſs of men. They were ſtill more degraded by prejudice, in the frequent occurrences of civil life. Their ſituation was never any thing more than an intermediate ſtate between ſlavery and original liberty.

Diſtinctions ſo humiliating filled the minds of theſe freedmen with rage. The ſlave is commonly in ſo abject a ſtate, that he doth not dare to defy his tyrant; he can do

nothing more than hate him. But the heart of a man whoſe chains have been ſhaken off, hath a greater degree of energy; he both hates, and bids defiance to the white men.

The dangerous effects of theſe ſiniſter diſpoſitions ſhould have been prevented. In the ſocieties of Europe, where all the members are equals, where the intereſt of each individual is the intereſt of the whole community; we are not allowed to ſuppoſe that a citizen would intentionally do any thing injurious to the general good, unleſs there are ſtrong proofs of it. But in America, where an enormous and ſingular body of men, divided in opinions, is compoſed of three different claſſes, it is thought right to ſacrifice the two laſt to the ſecurity of the former. The ſlaves are kept in a perpetual ſtate of oppreſſion, and the freedmen are thrown into priſon upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion. Their averſion for the white people is conſidered as a delinquency of a very ſerious nature, and juſtifies, in the eyes of authority, all the precautions that are taken againſt them. It is to this ſtrange ſeverity that moſt of the nations have wiſhed to attribute the kind of tranquillity which they have enjoyed in their ſettlements in the New World.

In the Engliſh colonies alone the free negro is upon the ſame footing as the white man The ſtrongeſt preſumptions are not ſufficient to authoriſe an attack upon the liberty of the one, any more than of the other. Hence it happens that the law, which is very cautious, for fear of a miſtake, in fixing upon the criminal, ſometimes remains inactive for a longer time than is conſiſtent with the public advantage. The freedmen have ſometimes abuſed theſe indulgences in the Britiſh iſlands; and their ſeditious commotions have obliged Dominica to alter its ſyſtem.

It was determined, by a bill paſſed in the month of September 1774, that no coloniſt ſhould, for the future, be allowed to grant liberty to any ſlave, before he had paid 100 piſtoles [42l. 13s. 4d.] into the public treaſury. But if the freedman could afterwards prove that he could not gain a ſubſiſtence by his labour, he was to receive 80 livres [3l. 6s. 8d.] every ſix months, till he ſhould be enabled, by more favourable circumſtances, to do without this aſſiſtance.

Every freedman, convicted by the depoſition of two wit-

neſſes, either free or ſlaves, before two juſtices of the peace, of being guilty of any offence that is not capital, is to be whipped, or to pay a fine, or to be impriſoned, according as the magiſtrates ſhall determine. The ſame puniſhments are to be inflicted upon him for having diſturbed the public peace, or for having inſulted, threatened, or beaten a white man.

A freedman who ſhall have aſſiſted a ſlave to deſert, who ſhall have granted an aſylum to him, or accepted of his ſervices, ſhall be condemned to a fine of 2,000 livres [83l. 6s. 8d.] to be applied to public uſe. If the culprit ſhould be unable to pay the ſum, he ſhall undergo three months impriſonment, or be whipped, according to the deciſion of the juſtices of the peace.

No free negro, mulatto, or meſtee, ſhall be allowed to vote at the election of a repreſentative of his pariſh, in the general aſſembly of the colony. Neither protection nor fortune can ever efface this mark of reprobation.

Plan conceived by the Britiſh miniſtry to render flouriſhing the three iſlands which were formerly neutral.

AFTER having given a ſeparate account of each of the three neutral iſlands which England acquired by the treaty of 1763, it is incumbent upon us to ſtate the means which that power hath thought proper to employ, in order to derive ſolid advantages from their proſperity.

At firſt, government thought proper to ſell the different portions of the extenſive ſoil which the ſucceſs of the war had given to them. Had they been gratuitouſly beſtowed, they would have been obtained by favour and intrigue, and they would not have been uſeful for a long time. But the nation was well convinced, that every citizen who ſhould have employed part of his capital in the acquiſition of an eſtate, would not fail to lay out upon it what was neceſſary for him to make the moſt of his property.

It might, however, be improper to exact the immediate payment of the ceded lands, becauſe the new plantations require ſuch great expences in buildings, in cattle, and in ſlaves. On this account, it was ſettled, that the purchaſer ſhould not be obliged to pay more than twenty per cent. in the firſt inſtance, ten per cent. the two following years, and afterwards twenty per cent. every year after, till the

payment was completed. He was to be diveſted of all his privileges, if he did not fulfil his engagements at the ſtated periods.

In order to ſoften what might appear too ſevere in this law, the planter was allowed to change this debt into a perpetual annuity; and even the firſt payment was not to begin till a twelvemonth after the clearing of the land.

As the vaſt extent of the eſtates had viſibly diminiſhed the maſs of the productions in the iſlands, which England had poſſeſſed for a long time, it was thought proper to take meaſures to avoid this inconvenience in the new acquiſitions. It was decreed, that no perſon ſhould be allowed to purchaſe more than one plantation; and that the largeſt of them ſhould not exceed five hundred acres. It was even limited to three hundred for Dominica, the poſition and deſtination of which required a greater number of Europeans. Government alſo decreed, that five of every hundred acres ſhould be annually cleared, till half the plantation ſhould be cultivated; and that thoſe who ſhould not have fulfilled this obligation ſhould pay a fine of 112 livres 10 ſols [4l. 13s. 9d.] annually, for every acre of ground which ſhould not have been cultivated in the limited time. Every coloniſt was obliged alſo to put one white man, or two white women, upon every hundred acres of his territory, under the penalty of paying every year to the treaſury 900 livres [37l. 10s.] for every man, and half of that ſum for every woman, that ſhould be wanting to make up the number he ought to have.

This laſt precaution might give ſome conſiſtence to the new ſettlements; but it was thought they would one day ſtand in need of further aſſiſtance. In order to procure it for them in time, gratuitous conceſſions of land, from ten to thirty acres, have been granted in favour of the poor who chooſe to ſettle in thoſe iſlands. This was a ſufficient portion of land to enable them to live by their labour, in thoſe eaſy circumſtances which they would never have experienced in the old hemiſphere. From an apprehenſion that they might lend their name to ſome rapacious man, or might afterwards ſell their property to him, it was ordained, that they ſhould themſelves take poſſeſſion of the land three months after it had been granted to them; that they ſhould dwell upon it for twelve months conſecutively; and that

they ſhould keep it for ſeven whole years. After this time, they were to pay a fine of 12 ſols [6d.] for every acre which ſhould be cultivated, and one of 12 livres 5 ſols [11s. 8d.] for thoſe which ſhould remain uncultivated.

The Engliſh iſlands had for a long while complained of the want of rain, becauſe all their foreſts had been levelled. In order to prevent this inconvenience in the new poſſeſſions, the commiſſaries were ordered to preſerve for the crown a ſufficient quantity of the woods to attract the clouds, and to keep up that degree of moiſture which is more or leſs neceſſary for all the plants peculiar to America.

Laſtly, none of the ſums acquired by the ſale of the lands were to belong to government. They were all to be conſecrated to the harbours, to the fortifications, and to other objects of uſe in thoſe iſlands.

The fate of the French, reſiding in great numbers at Dominica and at St. Vincent, remained ſtill to be ſettled. Theſe planters were under no kind of apprehenſion for their property. They had obtained or purchaſed it from the Indians, and had been confirmed in their poſſeſſion by the government of Martinico, who required of them a ſlight duty in return. The firſt of theſe titles could be of no weight in the eyes of a conquering power; and the ſecond was manifeſtly contrary to the conventions between the courts of London and of Verſailles, who had engaged themſelves not to allow their reſpective ſubjects to ſettle in the neutral iſlands.

The expectations, therefore, of thoſe active men, who would have accelerated the progreſs of the two colonies which they themſelves had founded, were entirely fruſtrated. Whether the Britiſh miniſtry were apprehenſive of diſguſting the Engliſh, in obliging them to pay for a territory, which their ancient rivals continued to poſſeſs gratuitouſly, or whether a wiſh prevailed of getting rid of thoſe foreigners, who, by their religion and their habits, might be too ſtrongly attached to their former country, it was regulated, that the French ſhould, for the future, enjoy their plantations only upon perpetual leaſes.

This hard reſtraint, ſo contrary to the maxims of ſound policy, diſperſed them. The emigration was not, however, univerſal. After the firſt effects of diſſatisfaction, the wiſeſt of them became ſenſible that they ſhould ſtill gain

more by repurchaſing the lands which they already enjoyed, than if they were to ſettle upon a freſh ſpot that would coſt them nothing.

Obſtacles which have prevented the proſperity of the neutral iſlands.

GREAT BRITAIN entertained great expectations from the meaſures which ſhe had taken for the proſperity of her conqueſts. The ſucceſs hath not been anſwerable; and the cauſes of this ſingular diſappointment are well known.

The three neutral iſlands were no ſooner ſecured to England by the treaties, than it became a general paſſion to form ſettlements upon them. This epidemical madneſs made the lands which were ſold by government riſe to an extravagant price. As a bold ſpirit of enterpriſe was the only fortune moſt of the purchaſers had, credit became their only reſource. They found it in London, and in ſome other trading places, the merchants of which, miſled by the ſame illuſion, borrowed conſiderable ſums at a low intereſt, in order to lend them to theſe enterpriſing ſpeculators at an advanced intereſt.

The new proprietors, moſt of whom had purchaſed a ſoil, without taking the trouble of examining it, proceeded with the ſame levity in the formation of their plantations. The coaſts, and the interior parts of the iſlands, were ſoon covered with maſters and ſlaves, equally inexperienced in the laborious and difficult art of clearing the lands. This occaſioned numberleſs faults and misfortunes. The evil became extreme, and ſoon broke out.

The coloniſts had borrowed at eight per cent. in 1766, or about that period, and the loan was to be paid five years after. The impoſſibility they found of fulfilling theſe engagements alarmed their European creditors. Diſappointed of the remittances they expected, theſe rapacious lenders were at length undeceived; and the greater their credulity had been, the more active did their anxiety become. Having recourſe to the authority of the law, they expelled from their plantations the unhappy men who had been unfortunately ſeduced by raſh expectations. Thus ended the deluſive proſpect of the new Engliſh colonies.

But this great commotion muſt be attended with favourable conſequences. The manures undertaken by men with-

out powers, and who are reduced to their original poverty, will procure to the nation the ſame advantages that uſually reſult from an irregular and diſorderly ferment in the ſtate. A ſoil which languiſhed in the hands of the firſt poſſeſſors will be cultivated with better means, with more intelligence and economy. While we are expecting the effects of this new effort of induſtry and activity, let us reſume the account of the Engliſh poſſeſſions in the American archipelago. To aſcertain the value of the colonies of a maritime and commercial power, is to make an eſtimate of its ſtrength.

Preſent ſtate of the Engliſh ſlands.

THE Britiſh iſlands in the Weſt Indies are in general more extenſive than they are fertile. Mountains, which cannot be cultivated, occupy a great ſpace in ſome of them; and others are entirely, or partly, formed of a chalky ſoil, which produces but very little. The beſt have been cleared for a long time, and require the aſſiſtance of manures, which are imperfect and ſcarce in this part of the New World. Moſt of them have been ſtripped of the foreſts, by which they were originally ſheltered, and are expoſed to droughts, which often ruin the labours undertaken with the ſtricteſt attention, and carried on at a great expence.

Accordingly, the increaſe of proviſions hath not been proportioned to the number of hands employed in obtaining them. There are at this time in thoſe colonies four hundred thouſand ſlaves, who by their labours ſcarce produce two thirds of the income that is collected from a richer ſoil with the ſame means.

The number of white people hath generally diminiſhed in proportion to the increaſe of the negroes. Not but that there were as many idle or indigent men in England to replace thoſe who periſhed, or who diſappeared with the fortunes they had acquired, as at the time of the firſt emigration; but the ſpirit of adventure, which the novelty of the object, and the concurrence of circumſtances had excited, was either checked or annihilated. On one hand, the ſpace which was occupied by the ſmaller cultures had been ſucceſſively filled with ſugar plantations, which require an immenſe extent of territory; and on the other, the proprie-

tors of theſe great plantations have reduced, as much as poſſible, the number of their agents, whoſe ſalaries were become a heavy burden.

Since this revolution, the Britiſh iſlands have ſtill greater reaſon than ever to be apprehenſive of plunder and of invaſion. Their coloniſts, who are all inliſted, were formerly ſtrong enough at leaſt to repel a weak and ill-armed enemy. Moſt of them might at preſent be taken by ſurpriſe, ſhould the navy of the mother-country ceaſe one moment to protect them. It is a great point, if in the preſent ſtate the militia are able to contain the negroes, who are more unfortunate under the Engliſh dominion than under any other: for it ſhould ſeem, that the hardſhips of ſlavery were ſo much the greater among free nations, in proportion as it is more unjuſt, and more foreign to the conſtitution. Such is the progreſs of man towards independence, that, after having ſhaken off the yoke, he wiſhes to impoſe it upon others; and that thoſe who are the moſt impatient of ſervitude become the fondeſt of dominion!

The Weſt Indies were never ſubjected to any impoſt by Great Britain. But, in 1663, Barbadoes, and the other iſlands, except Jamaica, voluntarily engaged to pay a perpetual tax of four per cent. upon all their productions which ſhould be exported. So great an act of generoſity hath ſince appeared burdenſome, and the weight of it was alleviated as much as poſſible. As this obligation is paid in commodities, there are ſcarce any delivered to government, except ſuch as are in ſome reſpect faulty; and the coloniſts are not more ſcrupulous with regard to their weight than to their quality. Thus it is that the treaſury receives only two thirds of the gift which was formerly granted to them.

This is ſtill too much for ſettlements that are obliged to defray their internal expences themſelves. Theſe were very conſiderable when thoſe colonies regulated all their own affairs, or erected the fortifications judged neceſſary for their ſecurity. The taxes were multiplied at this period; and every diſagreeable event brought on freſh ones, becauſe it was thought more prudent to require contributions of the citizens, than to have recourſe to public engagements. Time hath diminiſhed the wants, and it has been found neceſſary to provide for thoſe which remained with more economy, becauſe the planters have not the ſame reſources.

The taxes are at preſent inconſiderable, and they might ſtill be reduced, if thoſe who fill the poſts of adminiſtration, in manifeſt contradiction to the republican ſpirit, which is that of diſintereſtedneſs, did not require large ſalaries.

But this is an unavoidable inconvenience attending a commercial nation. Whether free or not, they ultimately love or value nothing but wealth. The thirſt of gold being more the work of imagination than of neceſſity, we are not ſatiated with riches as we are with the objects that gratify our other paſſions. The latter are diſtinct and tranſient; they either counteract or ſucceed each other; whereas the thirſt of gold feeds and ſatisfies all the other paſſions, at leaſt it ſupplies their place, in proportion as it exhauſts them, by the means it contributes towards the gratification of them. There is no habit which is more confirmed by cuſtom than that of amaſſing riches. It ſeems equally to be excited by the enjoyments of vanity, and by the ſelf-denial of avarice. The rich man always wants to fill or to increaſe his treaſure. This is a conſtant obſervation, which extends from individuals to nations.

Since large fortunes have been raiſed in England by trade, the deſire of wealth is become the univerſal and ruling paſſion. Such citizens as have not been able, or did not chooſe to follow this lucrative profeſſion, have ſtill turned their views to that gain which the manners and opinion of the times have made neceſſary. Even in aſpiring to honours, they hunt after riches. In following the career of thoſe laws and virtues, which ought ever mutually to aſſiſt each other, even in obtaining the honour of a ſeat in parliament, they have found out the way of aggrandizing their fortune. In order to be choſen members of this powerful body, they have bribed the votes of the people; and have not been more aſhamed of ſelling theſe very people to the court, than they were of having bought them. Every vote in the ſenate of the empire is become venal. A celebrated miniſter had a book of rates of the probity of each member, and openly boaſted of it, to the diſgrace of the Engliſh. It was the duty of his office, he ſaid, to buy off the repreſentatives of the nation, in order that they ſhould vote, not againſt, but according to, their conſcience. But what can conſcience avail againſt the allurements of gain? If the mercantile ſpirit hath been able to diffuſe in

the mother-country the contagion of perſonal intereſt, how is it poſſible that it ſhould not have infected the colonies, of which it is the principal and the ſupport? Is it then true, that, in proud Albion, a man who ſhould be generous enough to ſerve his country for the mere love of glory would be conſidered as a man of another world, and of the laſt age? Vain-glorious iſland, may thine enemies renounce this ſordid ſpirit of intereſt, and thou wilt one day reſtore to them all they have loſt!

Nevertheleſs, opulence ſeems to prevail in the Engliſh ſettlements in the Weſt Indies. This is becauſe the proceedings of arbitrary authority, which afflict ſo many other countries, are unknown here: becauſe there are none of thoſe vile inſtruments of the treaſury, who deſtroy the baſis of property, in order to eſtabliſh the forms of it: becauſe the culture of ſugar hath been ſubſtituted there, to that of productions of little value: becauſe the plantations belong in general to rich men, or to powerful aſſociations, which never ſuffer them to want the neceſſary means for their improvement: becauſe if ſome unfortunate caſualty ſhould reduce the coloniſt to the neceſſity of borrowing, he obtains the loan eaſily, and at a cheap rate; for his poſſeſſions are mortgaged to his creditor, and the payment is ſecured at the ſtated times: becauſe theſe iſlands are leſs expoſed to devaſtation and invaſion than the poſſeſſions of other powers, that are rich in productions, and poor in ſhips: becauſe the events of the moſt obſtinate and moſt deſtructive wars never prevent, and ſeldom retard, the exportation of their commodities: in a word, it is becauſe the Britiſh ports always open to their principal crops a more advantageous mart than their rivals can expect anywhere elſe. Accordingly, the lands conſtantly bear a very high price in the Engliſh iſlands, both the Europeans and the Americans being equally eager to purchaſe them.

Theſe lands would ſtill have been in greater requeſt, if the acceſs to the Weſt Indies had been leſs rigidly prohibited to foreign navigators; if they had been at liberty to chooſe their own purchaſers throughout the globe. But a ſet of laws, the regulations of which it hath never been poſſible to elude, have concentrated their connections within the limits of their own empire, with the national provinces of both hemiſpheres.

Theſe colonies do not find upon their own territory either proviſion for their own ſubſiſtence, or beaſts of burden for their labours, or woods for their buildings. They were ſupplied with theſe objects of primary neceſſity by North America, which received in payment rum and other productions, to the amount of three or four millions of livres [from 125,000l. to 166,666l. 13s. 4d.] every year. The troubles which have divided Old and New England have interrupted this communication, to the great detriment of the iſlands. Till neceſſities of an urgent nature ſhall cauſe it to be opened again, or till other connections ſhall be formed, to be ſubſtituted to it, the Weſt Indies will have no other vent for their productions than that which Great Britain will furniſh them.

At the preſent period, England receives annually from the iſlands ſhe occupies in the Weſt Indies, to the amount of about ninety-three millions of livres [3,875,000l.] in commodities, including ſixteen or ſeventeen millions [from 666,666l. 13s. 4d. to 708,333l. 6s. 8d.] which they pay to government, and the rum which Ireland receives directly in payment for the ſalt proviſions which it furniſhes to the colonies.

Almoſt all the ſugar, which forms three fourths of the produce of the iſlands, is conſumed in the kingdom itſelf, or is carried to Ireland. It is ſeldom that any of it is ſent to Hamburgh or to other markets.

The exports which Great Britain makes of the production of the iſlands do not annually exceed ſeven or eight millions of livres [from 291,666l. 13s. 4d. to 333,333l. 6s. 8d.] If we add to this ſum what ſhe muſt gain upon her cottons, which ſhe manufactures with ſo much ſucceſs, and which are diffuſed throughout a great part of the globe, we ſhall have a tolerably exact idea of the advantages which this empire derives from the Weſt Indies.

The iſlands receive in payment their furniture and clothing, the utenſils neceſſary for their manufactures, a great deal of hardware, and ſlaves for the working of their lands. But the things that are ſent to them are infinitely inferior in value to thoſe which are received from them. We muſt deduct the expences of navigation and of inſurance, the commiſſion, or the profit of the merchant. We muſt deduct the intereſt of ſixteen millions ſterling, which theſe co-

lonies owe to the mother-country. We muſt deduct what the rich proprietors of the plantations ſpend in England, where they habitually reſide. If we except the poſſeſſions acquired or ſecured by the treaties of 1763, the infant plantations of which are ſtill in want of advances, the other poſſeſſions of the Weſt Indies ſcarce receive in their harbours the fourth part of the value which they ſend out from them.

It was the capital of the empire which formerly ſent out almoſt all the exports, and received almoſt all the returns. Men of enlightened underſtanding were very properly incenſed at this evil. But London is at leaſt the fineſt port in England. It is there that ſhips are built, and manufactures are carried on. London furniſhes ſeamen for navigation, and hands for commerce. It ſtands in a temperate, fruitful, and central country. Every thing has a free paſſage in and out of it. It may be truly ſaid to be the heart of the body politic, from its local poſition. That city is not filled with proud and idle men, who only encumber and oppreſs the laborious people. It is the ſeat of the national aſſembly. There the king's palace is neither vaſt nor empty. He reigns in it by his preſence, which animates every thing. There the ſenate dictates the laws, agreeable to the ſenſe of the people it repreſents. It neither fears the eye of the monarch, nor the frowns of the miniſtry. London has not arrived to its preſent greatneſs by the influence of government, which ſtrains and over-rules all natural cauſes; but by the ordinary impulſe of men and things, and by a kind of attraction of commerce. It is the ſea, it is England, it is the whole world, that makes London rich and populous.

Nevertheleſs, this immenſe ſtaple hath loſt, in proceſs of time, ſomething of that ſpecies of monopoly which it exerciſed over the colonies and over the provinces. Briſtol, Liverpool, Lancaſter, and Glaſgow, have taken a conſiderable ſhare in this great circulation. A more general competition would even have been eſtabliſhed, if a new ſyſtem of manners, a diſlike for a retired life, the deſire of approaching the throne, and an effeminacy and corruption which have exceeded all bounds, had not collected at London, or within its diſtrict, a third part of the population of the whole kingdom, and eſpecially the great conſumers.

Summary of the riches that Europe draws from the American iſlands.

The hiſtory of the great American archipelago cannot be better concluded, than by a recapitulation of the advantages it procures to thoſe powers which have ſucceſſively invaded it. It is only by the impulſe which the immenſe productions of this archipelago have given to trade, that it muſt ever hold a diſtinguiſhed place in the annals of nations; ſince, in fact, riches are the ſpring of all the great revolutions that diſturb the globe. The colonies of Aſia Minor occaſioned both the ſplendour of that quarter of the earth, and the downfal of Greece. Rome, which was at firſt deſirous of ſubduing nations only to govern them, was ſtopped in the progreſs of her greatneſs, when ſhe acquired the poſſeſſion of the treaſures of the eaſt. War ſeemed to ſlumber for a while in Europe, in order to invade a new world: and has ſince been ſo often renewed there, merely to divide the ſpoils. Poverty, which will always be the lot of the greater part of mankind, and the choice of a few wiſe men, makes no diſturbance in the world. Hiſtory, therefore, can only treat of maſſacres or riches.

The iſlands of the other hemiſphere yield annually fifteen millions of livres [625,000l.] to Spain; eight millions [333,333l. 6s. 8d.] to Denmark; thirty millions [1,250,000l.] to Holland; eighty-two millions [3,416,666l. 13s. 4d.] to England; and one hundred and twenty-ſix millions [5,250,000l.] to France. The productions therefore gathered in fields that were totally uncultivated within theſe three centuries, are ſold in our continent for about two hundred and ſixty-one millions of livres [10,875,000l.]

This is not a gift that the New World makes to the Old. The people who receive this important fruit of the labour of their ſubjects ſettled in America, give in exchange, though with evident advantage to themſelves, the produce of their ſoil and of their manufactures. Some conſume the whole of what they draw from theſe diſtant poſſeſſions; others make the overplus the baſis of a proſperous trade with their neighbours. Thus every nation that is poſſeſſed of property in the New World, if it be truly induſtrious, gains ſtill leſs by the number of men it maintains abroad, without any expence, than by the population which thoſe procure it at home. To ſubſiſt a colony in America, it is

neceſſary to cultivate a province in Europe; and this additional labour increaſes the inward ſtrength and real wealth of the nation. The whole globe is ſenſible of this impulſe.

The labours of the people ſettled in thoſe iſlands are the ſole baſis of the African trade: they extend the fiſheries and the cultures of North America, afford a good market for the manufactures of Aſia, and double, perhaps treble, the activity of all Europe. They may be conſidered as the principal cauſe of the rapid motion which now agitates the univerſe. This ferment muſt increaſe, in proportion as cultures, that are ſo capable of being extended, ſhall approach nearer to their higheſt degree of perfection.

The beſt mode to be adopted for increaſing the productions of the American archipelago.

NOTHING would be more likely to haſten this happy period, than to give up the excluſive trade, which every nation has reſerved to itſelf in its own colonies. An unlimited freedom to trade with all the iſlands would be productive of the greateſt efforts, by exciting a general competition. Men who are inſpired with the love of humanity, and are enlightened by that ſacred fire, have ever wiſhed to ſee every obſtacle removed that intercepts a direct communication of all the ports of America with all thoſe of Europe. The ſeveral governments, which, being almoſt all corrupt in their origin, cannot be influenced by this principle of univerſal benevolence, have imagined that aſſociations, moſtly founded on the ſeparate intereſt of each nation, or of one ſingle individual, ought to be formed, in order to confine all the connections of every colony to its reſpective mother country. The opinion is, that theſe reſtraining laws ſecure to each commercial nation in Europe the ſale of its own territorial productions, the means of procuring ſuch foreign commodities as it may ſtand in need of, and an advantageous balance with all the other trading nations.

This ſyſtem, which was long thought to be the beſt, has been vigorouſly oppoſed, when the theory of commerce had once ſhaken off the fetters of prejudice. It has been alleged, that no nation can ſupply all the real or imaginary wants of its colonies out of its own property. There is not one that is not obliged to get ſome articles from abroad,

in order to complete the cargoes deſtined for America.—From this neceſſity ariſes at leaſt an indirect communication of all nations with thoſe diſtant poſſeſſions. Would it not be more eligible to convey each article to its deſtination in a direct line, than by this indirect way of exchange? This plan would be attended with leſs expence; would promote both culture and conſumption, and bring an increaſe of revenue to the public treaſury: an infinite number of advantages would accrue to the mother countries, which would make them full amends for the excluſive right they all claim, to their reciprocal injury.

Theſe maxims are true, ſolid and uſeful, but they will not be adopted. The reaſon is this: A great revolution is preparing in the trade of Europe, and is already too far advanced not to be completed. Every government is endeavouring to do without the aſſiſtance of foreign induſtry. Moſt of them have ſucceeded, and the reſt will not be long before they free themſelves from this dependence. Already the Engliſh and the French, who are the great manufacturers of Europe, ſee their maſterpieces of workmanſhip refuſed on all ſides. Will theſe two nations, which are at the ſame time the greateſt planters in the iſlands, open their ports to thoſe who force them, as it were, to ſhut up their manufactures at home? The more they loſe in the foreign markets, the leſs they will conſent to a competition in the only market they have left. They will rather ſtrive to extend it, that they may have a greater demand for their commodities, and a greater ſupply of American productions. It is by theſe returns that they will preſerve their advantage in the balance of trade, without being apprehenſive that the plenty of theſe productions will lower their value. The progreſs of induſtry in our continent muſt increaſe population and wealth, and of courſe the conſumption and value of the productions of the Antilles.

What will be the fate of the American iſlands hereafter.

But what will become of this part of the New World? Will the ſettlements that render it ſo flouriſhing, always remain in the hands of their original poſſeſſors; or will the maſters of them be changed? If a revolution ſhould take place in them, by

what means will it be brought about, and what people will reap the advantage of it? Theſe are queſtions that afford much room for conjecture, which may be aſſiſted by the following reflections.

The iſlands depend totally upon Europe for a ſupply of all their wants. Thoſe which only reſpect wearing apparel and implements of huſbandry will admit of delay; but the leaſt diſappointment, with regard to proviſions, ſpreads a general alarm, and cauſes univerſal deſolation, which rather tempts the people to wiſh for, than to fear, the approach of an enemy. And, indeed, it is a common ſaying in the colonies, that they will never fail to capitulate with a ſquadron ſtored with barrels of flour inſtead of gunpowder. If we pretend to obviate this inconvenience, by obliging the inhabitants to cultivate for their own ſubſiſtence, we defeat the very end of theſe ſettlements, without any real advantage. The mother country would deprive herſelf of a great part of the rich produce of her colonies, and would not preſerve them from invaſion.

In vain ſhould we hope to repulſe an invaſion by the help of negroes, born in a climate where effeminacy ſtifles the ſeeds of courage, and who are ſtill more enervated by ſlavery, and, conſequently, but little concerned in the choice of their tyrants. In ſuch hands, the beſt weapons muſt be uſeleſs. It might even be apprehended that they would turn them againſt their mercileſs oppreſſors.

The white people appear to be better defenders of the colonies. Beſide the courage which liberty naturally inſpires, they muſt alſo be animated with that which excluſively belongs to great proprietors. They are not men debaſed by coarſe labours, by obſcure occupations, or by indigence. The abſolute ſway which they exerciſe in their plantations, muſt have inſpired them with pride and greatneſs of ſoul. But, diſperſed as they are among vaſt poſſeſſions, what can their ſmall number avail? And would they even prevent an invaſion, were they able to do it?

All the coloniſts hold it as a maxim, that their iſlands are to be conſidered as thoſe great cities in Europe, which, lying open to the firſt-comer, change their dominion without an attack, without a ſiege, and almoſt without being ſenſible of the war. The ſtrongeſt is their maſter. The inhabitants exclaim, "God ſave the conqueror!" in imi

tation of the Italians, who have paſſed and repaſſed from one yoke to another in the courſe of a campaign. Whether the city ſhould return, at the time of peace, under its former government, or ſhould remain in the hands of the victor, it has loſt nothing of its ſplendour; while towns that are defended by ramparts, and difficult to be taken, are always depopulated and reduced to a heap of ruins. Accordingly, there is ſcarce, perhaps, one inhabitant in the American iſlands, who does not conſider it to be a fatal prejudice to expoſe his fortune for the ſake of his country. Of what importance is it to this rapacious calculator whoſe laws he obeys, if his crops are left ſtanding? Is it to enrich himſelf that he has croſſed the ſeas? If he preſerves his treaſure, his purpoſe is anſwered. Can the mother country that forſakes him, and frequently after having tyrannized over him; that is ready to give him up, or, perhaps, to ſell him, at the concluſion of a peace, have any claim to the ſacrifice of his life? It is no doubt a glorious thing to die for one's country. But a ſtate, where the proſperity of the nation is ſacrificed to forms of government; where the art of impoſing upon men is the art of training up ſubjects; where ſlaves are wanted inſtead of citizens; where war is declared, and peace concluded, without conſulting the opinion or the wiſhes of the people; where evil deſigns are always countenanced by the intrigues of debauchery, or the practices of monopoly; and where uſeful plans are only adopted with ſuch reſtrictions as prevent their being carried into execution: is this the country for which our blood ſhould be ſacrificed?

The fortifications erected for the defence of the colonies, will ſecure them no better than the efforts of the inhabitants. Even if they were ſtronger, and better guarded and ſtored than they have ever been, they muſt always ſurrender unleſs they are ſuccoured. Should the reſiſtance hold out above ſix months, that circumſtance would not diſcourage the beſiegers, who, being within reach of a conſtant ſupply of refreſhments, both by land and by ſea, could better endure the ſeverity of the climate, than a garriſon could reſiſt the duration of a ſiege.

There is no other way to preſerve the colonies but by a formidable navy. It is on the docks and in the harbours of Europe, that the baſtions and ramparts of the American

colonies muſt be raiſed. While the mother country ſhelters them, as it were, under the wings of her ſhips; ſo long as ſhe ſhall fill up with her fleets the vaſt interval that ſeparates her from theſe iſlands, the offspring of her induſtry and power, her parental attention to their proſperity will ſecure their attachment to her. In future, therefore, the maritime forces will be the great object that will attract the attention of all proprietors of land in America. European policy generally ſecures the frontiers of ſtates by fortified towns; but for maritime powers, there ought, perhaps, to be citadels in the centre, and ſhips on the circumference. A commercial iſland, indeed, wants no fortified towns. Her rampart is the ſea, which conſtitutes her ſafety, her ſubſtance, her wealth; the winds are at her command, and all the elements conſpire to promote her glory.

In this reſpect, Great Britain might lately have undertaken any thing, with the greateſt hopes of ſucceſs. Her iſlands were ſecure, while thoſe of her rivals were open to invaſion. The opinion which the Engliſh had conceived of their own valour; the terror which their arms had inſpired; the fruits of a fortunate experience acquired by their admirals; the number and the excellence of their fleets; all theſe ſeveral modes of aggrandizement muſt have been annihilated during the calm of a long peace. The pride of paſt ſucceſs; the very reſtleſſneſs inſeparable from proſperity; even the burden of conqueſts, which ſeems to be the puniſhment of victory; all theſe circumſtances were ſo many incitements to war. The projects formed by their active ambition, have been annihilated by the revolution which hath detached North America from their empire: but is the poſſeſſion of the iſlands, which are become very wealthy, and have been placed by nature in the vicinity of that great continent, which is ſtill in a ſtate of poverty, better ſecured to the nations that have cultivated them? It is in the poſition, in the intereſts, in the ſpirit, of the new republics, that we muſt endeavour to explore the ſecret of our future deſtiny.

BOOK XV.

SETTLEMENTS OF THE FRENCH IN NORTH AMERICA. UPON WHAT BASIS WAS FOUNDED THE HOPE OF THEIR PROSPERITY. CONSEQUENCE OF THESE SETTLEMENTS.

HITHERTO we have viſited thoſe regions where the rays of the ſun are perpendicular. We ſhall now paſs on to thoſe where they are oblique. It is no longer gold which our rapacious and cruel Europeans are going in ſearch of at ſo great a diſtance from their country. If they again croſs the ſeas, it will be for a leſs extravagant motive; it will be to withdraw themſelves from the calamities of their own regions; it will be to find reſt and liberty; to clear uncultivated lands; to caſt their nets on ſhores abounding with fiſh; to go in ſearch of animals upon the tops of mountains, and in the midſt of foreſts, in order to ſtrip them of their valuable furs.

The ſavage poſſeſſors of the regions we are going to pervade are not a race of degenerate men, without ſtrength of body, or elevation of ſoul: but we ſhall find them huntſmen, warriors, inured to labour, brave, eloquent, jealous of their independency; men, in a word, who alternately diſplay inſtances of the moſt unheard-of ferociouſneſs, of the moſt heroic magnanimity, and of the moſt abſurd ſuperſtition.

Superſtition, that fatal plant, is then indigenous in all climates: it grows equally in the plains, and upon the rocks; under the ardour of the line, under the ſnows of the pole, and in the temperate interval which divides them. Doth the generality of this phenomenon point out in all parts a tendency of the ignorant and timid man towards the Author of his exiſtence, and the Diſpoſer of good and evil? Doth it indicate the anxiety of a child ſeeking his father in the dark?

Reaſons which prevented the French, for a long time, from purſuing the plan of forming ſettlements in the New World.

Spain was miſtreſs of the rich empires of Mexico and Peru, of the gold of the New World, and of almoſt all South America. The Portugueſe, after a long ſeries of victories, defeats, enterpriſes, miſtakes, conqueſts, and loſſes, had kept the moſt valuable ſettlements in Africa, in India, and in the Brazils. The French government had not even conceived it poſſible to eſtabliſh colonies, or imagined that any advantage could be derived from having poſſeſſions in thoſe diſtant regions.

Their ambitious views were turned entirely towards Italy. Some ancient claims on the Milaneſe and the two Sicilies had involved them in expenſive wars, in which they had been engaged for a long time. Their internal commotions diverted them ſtill more from the great object of eſtabliſhing a diſtant and extenſive commerce, and from the idea of increaſing their dominions by acquiſitions in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies.

The authority of kings, though not openly conteſted, was oppoſed and eluded. Some remains of the feudal government were ſtill ſubſiſting, and many of its abuſes had not yet been aboliſhed. The prince was continually employed in reſtraining the reſtleſs ſpirit of a powerful nobility. Moſt of the provinces that compoſed the monarchy were governed by diſtinct laws and forms of their own. Every ſociety, every order in the ſtate, enjoyed peculiar privileges, which were either perpetually conteſted, or carried to exceſs. The government was a complicated machine, which could only be regulated by the management of a variety of delicate ſprings. The court was frequently under a neceſſity of having recourſe to the ſhameful reſources of intrigue and corruption, or to the odious means of oppreſſion and tyranny; and the nation was continually negociating with the prince. Regal authority was unlimited, without having received the ſanction of the laws; and the people, though frequently too independent, had yet no ſecurity for their liberty. Hence aroſe continual jealouſies, apprehenſions, and ſtruggles. The whole attention of the government was not directed to the welfare of the nation, but to the means of enſlaving it. The people were ſenſible

of their wants, but ignorant of their powers and resources. They found their rights alternately invaded or trampled upon by their nobles or their sovereigns.

Misfortunes of the French in their first expeditions to the New Hemisphere.

FRANCE, therefore, suffered the Spaniards and Portuguese to discover new worlds, and to give laws to unknown nations. Their attention was at length excited by Admiral Coligny, a man of the most extensive, steady, and active, genius, that ever flourished in that powerful empire. This great politician, attentive to the interests of his country, even amidst the horrors of a civil war, sent John Ribaud to Florida, in 1562. This vast tract of North America then extended from Mexico to the country which the English have since cultivated under the name of Carolina. The Spaniards had passed over it in 1512, but without settling there. The motives that engaged them to make this discovery, and those which induced them to relinquish it, are equally unaccountable.

All the Indians of the Caribbee islands believed, upon the credit of an ancient tradition, that nature had concealed a spring, or fountain, somewhere on the continent, the waters of which had the property of restoring youth to all old men who were so fortunate as to taste of them. The notion of immortality was always the passion of mankind, and the comfort of old age. This idea delighted the romantic imagination of the Spaniards. The loss of many, who were the victims of their credulity, did not discourage the rest. Far from suspecting that the first had perished in an attempt, of which death would prove the most certain consequence, they concluded that they did not return, because they had found the art of enjoying perpetual youth, and had discovered a spot so delightful, that they did not choose to leave it.

Ponce de Leon was the most famous of the navigators who were infatuated with this chimerical idea. Fully persuaded of the existence of a third world, the conquest of which was reserved to advance his fame, but thinking that the remainder of his life was too short for the immense career that was opening before him, he resolved to endeavour to renew it, and recover that youthful vigour so necessary

to his deſigns. He immediately bent his courſe towards thoſe climates where fable had placed the Fountain of Youth, and diſcovered Florida; from whence he returned to Porto-Rico, viſibly more advanced in years than when he ſet out. Thus chance immortalized the name of an adventurer, who made a real diſcovery, merely by being in purſuit of an imaginary one. His fate was the ſame as that of the alchemiſt, who, while he is ſearching for gold which he does not find, diſcovers ſome valuable thing which he was not ſeeking after.

There is ſcarce any uſeful and important diſcovery made by the human mind, that has not been rather the effect of a reſtleſs imagination, than of induſtry excited by reflection. Chance, which is the imperceptible courſe of nature, is never at reſt, and aſſiſts all men without diſtinction. Genius grows weary, and is ſoon diſcouraged; it falls to the lot only of a few, and exerts itſelf merely at intervals. Its utmoſt efforts frequently ſerve only to throw it in the way of chance, and invite its aſſiſtance. The only difference between a man of genius and one of common capacity is, that the former anticipates and explores what the latter accidentally hits upon. But even the man of genius himſelf more frequently employs the advantages which chance preſents to him. It is the lapidary who gives the value to the diamond, which the peaſant has digged up without knowing its worth.

The Spaniards had neglected Florida, becauſe they did not diſcover there, either the fountain that was to make them all grow young, or gold, which haſtens the period of old age. The French found there a more real and valuable treaſure; a clear ſky, a fruitful ſoil, a temperate climate, and ſavages who were lovers of peace and hoſpitality; but they themſelves were not ſenſible of the worth of theſe advantages. Had they followed the directions of Coligny; had they tilled the ground, which only wanted the aſſiſtance of man to call forth its treaſures; had a due ſubordination been maintained among the Europeans; had not the rights of the natives of the country been violated; a colony might have been founded, which in time would have become flouriſhing and permanent. But ſuch prudent meaſures were not to be expected from the levity of the French. The proviſions were laviſhed; the fields were not ſown;

the authority of the chiefs was diſregarded by untractable ſubalterns; the paſſion for hunting and war engroſſed all their attention; in a word every duty was neglected.

To complete their misfortune, the civil diſturbances in France diverted the ſubjects from an undertaking which had never engaged the attention of government. Theological diſputes alienated the minds, and divided the hearts of all ranks of people. Government had violated that ſacred law of nature, which enjoins all men to tolerate the opinions of their fellow-creatures; and the rules of policy, which are inconſiſtent with an unſeaſonable exertion of tyranny. The reformed religion had made great progreſs in France, when it was perſecuted; a conſiderable part of the nation was involved in the proſcription, and took up arms.

Spain, though not leſs intolerant, had prevented religious diſturbances, by ſuffering the clergy to aſſume that authority which has been continually increaſing, but which, for the future, will be conſtantly on the decline. The inquiſition, always ready to oppoſe the leaſt appearance of innovation, found means to prevent the proteſtant religion from making its way into the kingdom, and by this means ſpared itſelf the trouble of extirpating it. Philip II, wholly taken up with America, and accuſtomed to conſider himſelf as the ſole proprietor of it, being informed of the attempts made by ſome Frenchmen to ſettle there, and of their being neglected by their own government, fitted out a fleet from Cadiz to deſtroy them. Menendez, who was the commander of it, landed in Florida, where he found the enemies he went in ſearch of ſettled at Carolina fort. He attacked all their intrenchments, carried them ſword in hand, and made a dreadful maſſacre. Thoſe who eſcaped the rage of the ſword were hanged on a tree, with this inſcription: "Not as Frenchmen, but as heretics."

Far from ſeeking to revenge this inſult, the miniſtry of Charles IX ſecretly rejoiced at the miſcarriage of a project, which, though they had approved it, was not countenanced by them; becauſe it had been contrived by the head of the hugonots, and might reflect honour on their party. The indignation of the public only confirmed them in their reſolution of ſhewing no reſentment. It was reſerved for a private man to execute what the ſtate ought to have done.

Dominic de Gourgues, born at Mount Marſan in Gaſ-

cony, a ſkilful and intrepid ſeaman, an enemy to the Spaniards, from whom he had received perſonal injuries, paſſionately fond of his country, of hazardous expeditions, and of glory, ſold his eſtate, built ſome ſhips, and with a ſelect band of his own ſtamp, embarked to attack the murderers in Florida. He drove them from all their poſts with incredible valour and activity, defeated them in every rencounter, and, by way of retaliation for the contemptuous inſult they had ſhewn, hung them up on trees; with this inſcription: "Not as Spaniards, but as aſſaſſins."

Had the Spaniards been content with maſſacring the French, the latter would never have had recourſe to ſuch cruel repriſals; but they were offended at the inſcription, and were guilty of an atrocious act, in revenge for the deriſion to which they had been expoſed. This is not the only inſtance in hiſtory which may lead one to imagine, that it is not the thing that has made the word, but the word that has made the thing.

The expedition of the brave De Gourgues was attended with no further conſequences. He blew up the forts he had taken, and returned home, either for want of proviſions ſufficient to enable him to remain in Florida, or becauſe he foreſaw that no ſuccours were to be expected from France, or thought that friendſhip with the natives would laſt no longer than the means of purchaſing it, or that he would be attacked by the Spaniards. He was received by all true patriots with the applauſe due to his merit; but neglected by the court, which was too deſpotic and ſuperſtitious, not to ſtand in awe of virtue.

From the year 1567, when this intrepid Gaſcon evacuated Florida, the French neglected America. Bewildered in a chaos of unintelligible doctrines, they loſt their reaſon and their humanity. The mildeſt and moſt ſociable people upon earth became the moſt barbarous and ſanguinary. Scaffolds and ſtakes were inſufficient; as they all appeared criminal in each other's eyes, they were all mutually victims and executioners. After having condemned one another to eternal deſtruction, they aſſaſſinated each other at the inſtigation of their prieſts, who breathed nothing but the ſpirit of revenge and bloodſhed. At length the generous Henry ſoftened the minds of his ſubjects; his compaſſion and tenderneſs made them feel their own calamities; ha-

revived their fondneſs for the ſweets of ſocial life; he prevailed upon them to lay down their arms; and they conſented to live happy under his parental laws.

In this ſtate of tranquillity and freedom, under a king who poſſeſſed the confidence of his people, they began to turn their thoughts to ſome uſeful projects, and undertook the eſtabliſhment of colonies abroad. Florida was the firſt country that naturally occurred to them. Except Fort St. Auguſtine, formerly built by the Spaniards, at the diſtance of ten or twelve leagues from the French colony, the Europeans had not a ſingle ſettlement in all that vaſt and beautiful country. The inhabitants were not a formidable ſet of men; and the ſoil had every promiſing appearance of fertility. It was likewiſe reported to be rich in gold and ſilver mines, both thoſe metals having been found there; whereas, in fact, they came from ſome ſhips that had been caſt away upon the coaſts. The remembrance of the great actions performed by ſome Frenchmen could not yet be eraſed. Probably the French themſelves were rather afraid of irritating Spain, which was not yet diſpoſed to ſuffer the leaſt ſettlement to be made on the gulf of Mexico, or even near it. The danger of provoking a nation, ſo formidable in thoſe parts, determined them to keep at a diſtance as much as poſſible, and therefore they gave the preference to the more northern parts of America: that road was already chalked out.

The French turn their views towards Canada.

FRANCIS I had ſent out Verazani, a Florentine, in 1523, who only took a view of the iſland of Newfoundland and ſome coaſts of the continent, but made no ſtay there.

Eleven years after, James Cartier, a ſkilful navigator of St. Malo, reſumed the projects of Verazani. The two nations, which had firſt landed in America, exclaimed againſt the injuſtice of treading in their footſteps. "What!" ſaid Francis I pleaſantly, "ſhall the kings of Spain and "Portugal quietly divide all America between them, with- "out ſuffering me to take a ſhare as their brother? I would "fain ſee the article of Adam's will that bequeaths that "vaſt inheritance to them."

Cartier proceeded further than his predeceſſor. He

went up the river St. Lawrence; but, after having bartered ſome European commodities with the ſavages for ſome of their furs, he re-embarked for France, where an undertaking, which ſeemed to have been entered upon merely from imitation, was neglected from levity.

It happened fortunately that the Normans, the Britons, and the Biſcayans, continued to carry on the cod-fiſhery on the great ſand-bank along the coaſts of Newfoundland, and in all the adjacent latitudes. Theſe intrepid and experienced men ſerved as pilots to the adventurers, who, ſince the year 1598, have attempted to ſettle colonies in thoſe deſert regions. None of thoſe firſt ſettlements proſpered, becauſe they were all under the direction of excluſive companies, which had neither abilities to chooſe the beſt ſituations, nor a ſufficient capital to wait for their returns. One monopoly followed another in a rapid ſucceſſion, without any advantage; they were purſued with greedineſs, without a plan, or any means to carry them into execution. All theſe different companies ſucceſſively ruined themſelves; and the ſtate was no gainer by their loſs. Theſe numerous expeditions had coſt France more men, more money, and more ſhips, than other ſtates would have expended in the foundation of great empires. At laſt Samuel de Champlain went a conſiderable way up the river St. Lawrence; and, in 1608, upon the borders of that river laid the foundation of Quebec, which became the origin, centre, and capital, of New France, or Canada.

The unbounded tract, that opened itſelf to the view of this colony, diſcovered only dark, thick, and deep, foreſts, the height of which alone was a proof of their antiquity. Numberleſs large rivers came down from a conſiderable diſtance to water theſe immenſe regions. The intervals between them were full of lakes. Four of theſe meaſured from two to five hundred leagues in circumference. Theſe ſort of inland ſeas communicated with each other; and their waters, after forming the great river St. Lawrence, conſiderably increaſed the bed of the ocean. Every thing in this rude part of the New World appeared grand and ſublime. Nature here diſplayed ſuch luxuriancy and majeſty as commanded veneration, and a multitude of wild graces, far ſuperior to the artificial beauties of our climates. Here the imagination of a painter or a poet would have

been raiſed, animated, and filled with thoſe ideas which leave a laſting impreſſion on the mind. All theſe countries exhaled an air fit to prolong life. This temperature, which, from the poſition of the climate, muſt have been extremely pleaſant, loſt nothing of its wholeſomeneſs by the ſeverity of a long and intenſe winter. Thoſe who impute this merely to the woods, ſprings, and mountains, with which this country abounds, have not taken every thing into conſideration. Others add to theſe cauſes of the cold, the elevation of the land, a pure aerial atmoſphere, ſeldom loaded with vapours, and the direction of the winds, which blow from north to ſouth over ſeas always frozen.

Government, cuſtoms, virtues, vices, and wars, of the ſavages that inhabited Canada.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, the inhabitants of this ſharp and bleak climate were but thinly clad. Before their intercourſe with us, a cloak of buffalo or beaver ſkin, bound with a leathern girdle, and ſtockings made of a roebuck's ſkin, was the whole of their dreſs. The additions they have ſince made give great offence to their old men, who are ever lamenting the degeneracy of their manners.

Few of theſe ſavages knew any thing of huſbandry; they only cultivated maize, and that they left entirely to the management of the women, as being beneath the dignity of independent men. Their bittereſt imprecation againſt an enemy, was the ſame as the curſe pronounced by God againſt the firſt man, that he might be reduced to till the ground. Sometimes they would condeſcend to go a-fiſhing; but their chief delight, and the employment of all their life, was hunting. For this purpoſe, the whole nation went out as they did to war, every family marched in ſearch of ſuſtenance. They prepared for the expedition by ſevere faſting, and never ſtirred out till they had implored the aſſiſtance of their gods; they did not pray for ſtrength to kill the beaſts, but that they might be ſo fortunate as to meet with them. None ſtaid behind except infirm and old men; all the reſt ſallied forth; the men to kill the game, and the women to dry and bring it home. The winter was with them the fineſt ſeaſon of the year: the bear, the roebuck, the ſtag, and the elk, could not then run with any degree

of ſwiftneſs through ſnow that was four or five feet deep. The ſavages, who were ſtopped neither by the buſhes, the torrents, the ponds, nor the rivers, and who could outrun moſt of the ſwifter animals, were ſeldom unſucceſsful in the chaſe. When they were without game, they lived upon acorns; and, for want of theſe, fed upon the ſap or inner ſkin that grows between the wood and the bark of the aſpen tree and the birch.

In the interval between their hunting parties, they made or mended their bows and arrows, the rackets for running upon the ſnow, and the canoes for croſſing the lakes and rivers. Theſe travelling implements, and a few earthen pots, were the only ſpecimens of art among theſe wandering nations. Thoſe who were collected in towns, added to theſe the labours requiſite for their ſedentary way of life, for the fencing of their huts, and ſecuring them from being attacked. The ſavages, at that period, gave themſelves up to total inaction, in the moſt profound ſecurity. The people, content with their lot, and ſatisfied with what nature afforded them, were unacquainted with that reſtleſſneſs which ariſes from a ſenſe of our own weakneſs, that lothing of ourſelves and every thing about us, that neceſſity of flying from ſolitude, and eaſing ourſelves of the burden of life by throwing it upon others.

Their ſtature in general was beautifully proportioned; but they had more agility than ſtrength, and were more fit to bear the fatigues of the chaſe than hard labour. Their features were regular; and there was a kind of fierceneſs in their aſpect, which they contracted in war and hunting. Their complexion was of a copper colour; and they derived it from nature, by which all men who are conſtantly expoſed to the open air are tanned. This complexion was rendered ſtill more diſagreeable by the abſurd cuſtom that prevails among ſavages, of painting their bodies and faces, either to diſtinguiſh each other at a diſtance, to render themſelves more agreeable to their miſtreſſes, or more formidable in war. Beſide this varniſh, they rubbed themſelves with the fat of quadrupeds, or the oil of fiſh, a cuſtom common and neceſſary among them, in order to prevent the intolerable ſtings of gnats and inſects, that ſwarm in uncultivated countries. Theſe ointments were prepared and mixed up with certain red juices, ſuppoſed

be a deadly poiſon to the moſchetos. To theſe ſeveral methods of anointing themſelves, which penetrate and diſcolour the ſkin, may be added, the fumigations they made in their huts againſt thoſe inſects, and the ſmoke of the fires they kept all the winter to warm themſelves, and to dry their meat. This was ſufficient to make them appear frightful to our people, though beautiful, without doubt, or at leaſt not diſagreeable to themſelves. Their ſight, ſmell, and hearing, and all their ſenſes, were remarkably quick, and gave them early notice of their dangers and wants. Theſe were few, but their diſeaſes were ſtill fewer. They hardly knew of any but what were occaſioned by too violent exerciſe, or eating too much after long abſtinence.

They were not a very numerous people; and, poſſibly, this might be an advantage to them. Poliſhed nations muſt wiſh for an increaſe of population, becauſe, as they are governed by ambitious rulers, who are the more inclined to war from not being perſonally engaged in it, they are under a neceſſity of fighting, either to invade or repulſe their neighbours; and becauſe they never have a ſufficient extent of territory to ſatisfy their enterpriſing and expenſive way of life. But unconnected nations, who are always wandering, and guarded by the deſerts which divide them; who can fly when they are attacked, and whoſe poverty preſerves them from committing or ſuffering any injuſtice; ſuch ſavage nations do not feel the want of numbers. Perhaps nothing more is required, than to be able to reſiſt the wild beaſts, occaſionally to drive away an inſignificant enemy, and mutually to aſſiſt each other. Had they been more populous, they would the ſooner have exhauſted the country they inhabited, and have been forced to remove in ſearch of another; the only, or, at leaſt, the greateſt misfortune attending their precarious way of life.

Independent of theſe reflections, which poſſibly did not occur ſo ſtrongly to the ſavages of Canada, the nature of things was alone ſufficient to check their increaſe. Though they lived in a country abounding in game and fiſh, yet in ſome ſeaſons, and ſometimes for whole years, this reſource failed them: and famine then occaſioned a great deſtruction among people who were at too great a diſtance to aſſiſt each other. Their wars, or tranſient hoſtilities, the

reſult of former animoſities, were very deſtructive. Men conſtantly accuſtomed to hunt for their ſubſiſtence, to tear in pieces the animal they had overtaken, to hear the cries of death, and ſee the ſhedding of blood, muſt have been ſtill more cruel in war, if poſſible, than our own people, who live partly on vegetables. In a word, notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid in favour of inuring children to hardſhips, which miſled Peter the Great to ſuch a degree that he ordered that none of his ſailors children ſhould drink any thing but ſea-water (an experiment which proved fatal to all who tried it); it is certain, that a great many young ſavages periſhed through hunger, thirſt, cold, and fatigue. Even thoſe whoſe conſtitution was ſtrong enough to bear the uſual exerciſes of thoſe climates, to ſwim over the broadeſt rivers, to go two hundred leagues on a hunting party, to live many days without ſleep, to ſubſiſt a conſiderable time without any food; ſuch men muſt have been exhauſted, and totally unfit for the purpoſes of generation. Few were ſo long-lived as our people, whoſe manner of living is more uniform and tranquil.

The auſterity of a Spartan education, the cuſtom of inuring children to hard labour and coarſe food, has been productive of dangerous miſtakes. Philoſophers, deſirous of alleviating the miſeries incident to mankind, have endeavoured to comfort the wretched who have been doomed to a life of hardſhips, by perſuading them that it was the moſt wholeſome and the beſt. The rich have eagerly adopted a ſyſtem, which ſerved to render them inſenſible to the ſufferings of the poor, and to diſpenſe them from the duties of humanity and compaſſion. But it is an error to imagine, that men, who are employed in the more laborious arts of ſociety, live as long as thoſe who enjoy the fruit of their toil. Moderate labour ſtrengthens the human frame; exceſſive labour impairs it. A peaſant is an old man at ſixty; while the inhabitants of towns, who live in affluence, and with ſome degree of moderation, frequently attain to fourſcore and upward. Even men of letters, whoſe employments are by no means favourable to health, afford many inſtances of longevity. Let not then our modern writings propagate this falſe and cruel error, to ſeduce the rich to diſregard the groans of the poor, and to

transfer all their tenderneſs from their vaſſals to their dogs and horſes.

Three original languages were ſpoken in Canada, the Algonquin, the Sioux, and the Huron. They were conſidered as primitive languages, becauſe each of them contained many of thoſe imitative words which convey an idea of things by ſound. The dialects derived from them were nearly as numerous as their towns. No abſtract terms were found in theſe languages, becauſe the infant mind of the ſavages ſeldom extends its view beyond the preſent object and the preſent time; and, as they have but few ideas, they ſeldom want to repreſent ſeveral, under one and the ſame ſign. Beſides, the language of theſe people, almoſt always animated by a quick, ſimple, and ſtrong, ſenſation, excited by the great ſcenes of nature, contracted a lively and poetical caſt from their ſtrong and active imagination. The aſtoniſhment and admiration which proceeded from their ignorance, gave them a ſtrong propenſity to exaggeration. They expreſſed what they ſaw; their language painted, as it were, natural objects in ſtrong colouring; and their diſcourſes were quite picturesque. For want of terms agreed upon to denote certain compound or complex ideas, they made uſe of figurative expreſſions. What was ſtill wanting in ſpeech, they ſupplied by their geſtures, their attitudes, their bodily motions, and the modulations of the voice. The boldeſt metaphors were more familiar to them in common converſation, than they are even in epic poetry in the European languages. Their ſpeeches in public aſſemblies, particularly, were full of images, energy, and pathos. No Greek or Roman orator ever ſpoke, perhaps, with more ſtrength and ſublimity than one of their chiefs. It was thought neceſſary to perſuade them to remove at a diſtance from their native ſoil. "We were "born," ſaid he, "on this ſpot, our fathers lie buried in "it. Shall we ſay to the bones of our fathers, ariſe, and "come with us into a foreign land?"

It may eaſily be imagined, that ſuch nations could not be ſo gentle nor ſo weak as thoſe of South America. They ſhewed that they had that degree of activity and ſtrength which the people of the northern nations always poſſeſs, unleſs they are, like the Laplanders, of a very different ſpecies from ours. They had but juſt attained to

that degree of knowledge and civilization, to which inſtinct alone may lead men in the ſpace of a few years; and it is among ſuch people that a philoſopher may ſtudy man in a ſtate of nature.

They were divided into ſeveral ſmall nations, whoſe form of government was nearly ſimilar. Some had hereditary chiefs; others elected them; the greater part were only directed by their old men. They were mere aſſociations, formed by chance, and always free; and though united, they were bound by no tie. The will of individuals was not even over-ruled by the general one. All deciſions were conſidered only as matter of advice, which was not binding, or inforced by any penalty. If, in one of theſe ſingular republics, a man was condemned to death, it was rather a kind of war againſt a common enemy, than an act of juſtice exerciſed againſt a ſubject or a fellow-citizen. Inſtead of coercive power, good manners, example, education, a reſpect for old men, a parental affection, maintained peace in theſe ſocieties, where there was neither law nor property. Reaſon, which had not been miſled by prejudice, or corrupted by paſſion, as it is with us, ſerved them inſtead of moral precepts and regulations of police. Harmony and ſecurity were maintained without the interpoſition of government. Authority never encroached upon that powerful inſtinct of nature, the love of independence; which, enlightened by reaſon, produces in us the love of equality.

Hence ariſes that regard which the ſavages have for each other. They laviſh their expreſſions of eſteem, and expect the ſame in return. They are obliging, but reſerved; they weigh their words, and liſten with great attention. Their gravity, which appears like a kind of melancholy, is particularly obſervable in their national aſſemblies. Every one ſpeaks in his turn, according to his age, experience, and ſervices. No one is ever interrupted, either by indecent reflections or ill-timed applauſe. Their public affairs are managed with ſuch diſintereſtedneſs as is unknown in our governments, where the welfare of the ſtate is hardly ever promoted but from ſelfiſh views or party ſpirit. It is no uncommon thing to hear one of theſe ſavage orators, when his ſpeech has met with univerſal applauſe, telling

thoſe who agreed to his opinion, that another man is more deſerving of their confidence.

This mutual reſpect among the inhabitants of the ſame place, prevails between the ſeveral nations, when they are not in actual war. The deputies are received and treated with that friendſhip that is due to men who come to treat of peace and alliance. Wandering nations, who have not the leaſt notion of increaſing their territory, never negociate for conqueſt, or for any intereſts relative to dominion. Even thoſe who have fixed ſettlements, never contend with others for coming to live in their diſtrict, provided they do not moleſt them. The earth, ſay they, is made for all men; no one muſt poſſeſs the ſhare of two. All the politics, therefore, of the ſavages, conſiſt in forming leagues againſt an enemy who is too numerous or too ſtrong, and in ſuſpending hoſtilities that become too deſtructive. When they have agreed upon a truce or league of amity, it is ratified by mutually exchanging a belt, or ſtring of beads, which are a kind of ſnail ſhells. The white ones are very common; but the purple ones, which are rare, and the black, which are ſtill more ſo, are much eſteemed. They work them into a cylindrical form, bore them, and then make them up into necklaces. The branches are about a foot long, and the beads are ſtrung upon them one after another in a ſtraight line. The necklaces are broad belts, on which the beads are placed in rows, and neatly tacked down with little ſlips of leather. The ſize, weight, and colour of theſe ſhells, are adapted to the importance of the buſineſs. They ſerve as jewels, as records, and as annals. They are the bond of union between nations and individuals. They are the ſacred and inviolable pledge, which is a confirmation of words, promiſes, and treaties. The chiefs of towns are the keepers of theſe records. They know their meaning; they interpret them; and by means of theſe ſigns, they tranſmit the hiſtory of the country to the ſucceeding generation.

As the ſavages poſſeſs no riches, they are of a benevolent turn. A ſtriking inſtance of this appears in the care they take of their orphans, widows, and infirm people. They liberally ſhare their ſcanty proviſion with thoſe whoſe crops have failed, or who have been unſucceſsful in hunting or fiſhing. Their tables and their huts are open night

and day to ſtrangers and travellers. This generous hoſpitality, which makes the advantages of a private man a public bleſſing, is chiefly conſpicuous in their entertainments. A ſavage claims reſpect, not ſo much from what he poſſeſſes, as from what he gives away. The whole ſtock of proviſions collected during a chaſe that has laſted ſix months, is frequently expended in one day; and he who gives the entertainment enjoys more pleaſure than his gueſts.

None of the writers who have deſcribed the manners of the ſavages have reckoned benevolence among their virtues. But this may be owing to prejudice, which has made them confound the antipathy ariſing from reſentment, with natural temper. Theſe people neither love nor eſteem the Europeans, nor are they very kind to them. The inequality of conditions, which we think ſo neceſſary for the well-being of ſociety, is, in their opinion, the greateſt folly. They are ſhocked to ſee, that among us, one man has more property than ſeveral others collectively, and that this firſt injuſtice is productive of a ſecond, which is, that the man who has moſt riches is on that account the moſt reſpected. But what appears to them a meanneſs below the brute creation, is, that men, who are equal by nature, ſhould degrade themſelves ſo far as to depend upon the will or the caprice of another. The reſpect we ſhew to titles, dignities, and eſpecially to hereditary nobility, they call an inſult, an outrage to human nature. Whoever knows how to guide a canoe, to beat an enemy, to build a hut, to live upon little, to go a hundred leagues in the woods with no other guide than the wind and ſun, or any proviſion but a bow and arrows; he acts the part of a man, and what more can be expected of him? That reſtleſs diſpoſition, which prompts us to croſs ſo many ſeas in queſt of fugitive advantages, appears to them rather the effect of poverty than of induſtry. They laugh at our arts, our manners, and all thoſe cuſtoms which inſpire us with a greater degree of vanity, in proportion as they remove us further from the ſtate of nature. Their frankneſs and honeſty are roufed to indignation by the tricks and cunning which have been practiſed in our dealings with them. A multitude of other motives, ſome founded on prejudice, but frequently on reaſon, have rendered the Europeans odious to the Indians. They have made reprifals, and are become harſh and cruel

in their intercourſe with us. The averſion and contempt they have conceived for our manners, have always made them avoid our ſociety. We have never been able to reconcile any of them to our indulgent manner of living; whereas we have ſeen ſome Europeans forego all the conveniencies of civil life, retire into the foreſts, and take up the bow and the club of the ſavage.

An innate ſpirit of benevolence, however, ſometimes brings the ſavages back to us. At the beginning of the winter a French veſſel was wrecked upon the rocks of Anticoſti. The ſailors who had eſcaped the rigour of the ſeaſon and the dangers of famine in this deſert and ſavage iſland, built a bark out of the remains of their ſhip, which, in the following ſpring, conveyed them to the continent. They were obſerved in a languid and expiring ſtate, by a hut filled with ſavages. "Brethren," ſaid the chief of this lonely family, addreſſing himſelf affectionately to them, "the wretched are intitled to our pity and our aſſiſtance. "We are men, and the misfortunes incident to any of the "human race affect us in the ſame manner as if they were "our own." Theſe humane expreſſions were accompanied with every token of friendſhip theſe generous ſavages had it in their power to ſhew.

Europeans, who are ſo proud of your government, of your laws, of your inſtitutions, of your monuments, of every thing that you call your wiſdom, ſuffer me to engage your attention for a moment. I have juſt deſcribed, in a plain and artleſs way, the life and manners of the ſavages. I have not concealed from you their vices, nor have I exaggerated their virtues. I entreat you to preſerve the ſenſations which my narrative hath raiſed in you, till the man of the firſt genius and of the greateſt eloquence among you, ſhall have prepared himſelf to deſcribe to you, with all the ſtrength and with all the magic of his colouring, the good and the evil of your civilized countries. His picture will undoubtedly tranſport you with admiration; but do you imagine that it will leave in your minds that delicious emotion which you experience at preſent? Will the writer inſpire you with thoſe ſentiments of eſteem, love, and veneration, which you have juſt granted the ſavages? You would only be miſerable ſavages if you were to live in the

foreſts, and the loweſt of the ſavages would be a reſpectable man in your cities.

One thing only was wanting to complete the felicity of the Americans, and that was the happineſs of being fond of their wives. Nature hath in vain beſtowed on their women a good ſhape, beautiful eyes, pleaſing features, and long black hair. All theſe accompliſhments are no longer regarded than while they remain in a ſtate of independence. They no ſooner ſubmit to the matrimonial yoke, but even their huſband, who is the only man they love, grows inſenſible to thoſe charms they were ſo liberal of before marriage. The ſtate of life, indeed, to which this condition ſubjects them, is by no means favourable to beauty. Their features alter, and they loſe at once the deſire and the power of pleaſing. They are laborious, indefatigable, and active. They dig the ground, ſow, and reap; while their huſbands, who diſdain to ſtoop to the drudgeries of huſbandry, amuſe themſelves with hunting, fiſhing, ſhooting with the bow, and aſſerting the dominion of man over the earth.

Many of theſe nations allow a plurality of wives; and even thoſe that do not practiſe poligamy, have ſtill reſerved to themſelves the liberty of a divorce. The very idea of an indiſſoluble tie never once entered the thoughts of a people who are free till death. When thoſe who are married diſagree, they part by conſent, and divide their children between them. Nothing appears to them more repugnant to nature and reaſon, than the contrary ſyſtem which prevails among chriſtians. The Great Spirit, ſay they, hath created us all to be happy; and we ſhould offend him were we to live in a perpetual ſtate of conſtraint and uneaſineſs. This ſyſtem agrees with what one of the Miamis ſaid to one of the miſſionaries, "My wife and I were continually "at variance. My neighbour diſagreed equally with his. "We have exchanged wives, and are both ſatisfied."

A celebrated writer, whom we cannot but admire, even when we differ from him in opinion, has obſerved, that love among the Americans is never productive of induſtry, genius, and character, as it is among the Europeans; becauſe the former, ſays he, have a ſixth ſenſe, weaker than it is among the latter. The ſavages, it is ſaid, are neither acquainted with the torments nor the delights of this moſt

violent of all paſſions. The air and the climate, the moiſture of which contributes ſo powerfully to vegetation, does not beſtow upon them any great warmth of conſtitution. The ſame ſap which covers the countries with foreſts, and the trees with leaves, occaſions among men, as among women, the growth of long, ſmooth, thick, ſtrong, and ſturdy, hair. Men who have little more beard than eunuchs have, cannot abound in generating principles. The blood of theſe people is watery and cold; the males have ſometimes milk in their breaſts. Hence ariſes their tardy inclination to the ſex; their averſion for them at certain periods, and in times of pregnancy; and that feeble and tranſient ardour, which is excited only at certain ſeaſons of the year. Hence ariſes that quickneſs of imagination, which renders them ſuperſtitious, fearful as children in the dark, and as much prone to revenge as women; which makes them poets, and figurative in their diſcourſe; men of feeling, in a word, but not of ſtrong paſſions. Hence, in ſhort, hath proceeded that want of population which hath always been obſerved in them. They have few children, becauſe they are not ſufficiently fond of women. And this is a national defect, with which the old men were inceſſantly reproaching the young people.

But may it not be ſaid, that the paſſion of the ſavages for women is leſs languid from the nature of their conſtitution, than from their moral character? The pleaſures of love are too eaſily indulged among them, to excite any ſtrong deſires. Accordingly, among ourſelves, it is not in thoſe ages, where luxury encourages incontinence, that we ſee the men moſt attached to the women, and the women bear the moſt children. In what country hath love ever been a ſource of heroiſm and virtue, when the women have not encouraged their lovers to theſe purſuits by chaſte refuſals, and by the ſhame they had affixed to the weakneſs of their ſex? It is at Sparta, at Rome, and even in France, in the ages of chivalry, that love hath given riſe to great undertakings, and hath occaſioned the enduring of great hardſhips. There it is, that, uniting itſelf to public ſpirit, it aſſiſted patriotiſm, or ſupplied the place of it. As it was a more difficult thing always to pleaſe one woman, than to ſeduce ſeveral, the ſway of moral love prolonged the power of natural love, by ſuppreſſing it, by di-

recting it to proper objects, by deceiving it even with hopes which kept up desires, and maintained the passion in all its strength. But this love, though stinted in enjoyments, was productive of great effects. To love was not then an art, but a passion, which being engendered in innocence itself, was kept alive by sacrifices, instead of being extinguished in voluptuousness.

With respect to the savages, if they should not be so fond of women as civilized people are, it is not, perhaps, for want of powers or inclination to population. But the first wants of nature may, perhaps, restrain in them the claims of the second. Their strength is almost all exhausted in procuring their subsistence. Hunting and other expeditions leave them neither the opportunity nor the leisure of attending to the increase of their species. No wandering nation can ever be numerous. What must become of women obliged to follow their husbands a hundred leagues, with children at their breast or in their arms? What would become of the children themselves, if deprived of the milk that must necessarily fail during the fatigues of the journey? Hunting prevents, and war destroys, the increase of mankind. A savage warrior resists the seducing arts of young women, who strive to allure him. When nature compels this tender sex to make the first advances, and to pursue the men that avoid them, those who are less inflamed with military ardour than with the charms of beauty, yield to the temptation. But the true warriors, who have been early taught that an intercourse with women enervates strength and courage, do not surrender. It is not, therefore, owing to natural defects that Canada is unpeopled, but to the track of life pursued by its inhabitants. Though they are as fit for procreation as our northern people, all their strength is employed for their own preservation. Hunger does not permit them to attend to the passion of love. If the people of the south sacrifice every thing to this latter desire, it is because the former is easily satisfied. In a country where nature is very prolific, and man consumes but little, all the strength he has to spare is entirely turned to population; which is likewise assisted by the warmth of the climate. In a climate where men consume more than nature affords them without pains, the time and

the faculties of the human ſpecies are exhauſted in fatigues that are detrimental to population.

But a further proof, that the ſavages are not leſs inclined to women than we are, is, that they are much fonder of their children. Their mothers ſuckle them till they are four or five years old, and ſometimes till ſix or ſeven. From their earlieſt infancy, their parents pay a regard to their natural independence, and never beat or chide them, leſt they ſhould check that free and martial ſpirit, which is one day to conſtitute their principal character. They even forbear to make uſe of ſtrong arguments to perſuade them, becauſe this would be in ſome meaſure a reſtraint upon their will. As they are only taught what they want to know, they are the happieſt children upon earth. If they die, the parents lament them with deep regret; and will ſometimes go ſix months after, to weep over the grave of their child: and the mother will ſprinkle it with her own milk.

The ties of friendſhip among the ſavages are more laſting than thoſe of nature. Friendſhip is not abſolutely a duty, ſince it cannot be commanded: but it is a more agreeable, a more tender, and even a ſtronger, union, than thoſe which are formed by nature, or by ſocial inſtitutions. All perſons who are connected by that delightful ſentiment, agree in giving mutual advice to each other in difficult conjunctures; in adminiſtering comfort in misfortunes; in granting aſſiſtance in undertakings, and ſuccours in adverſity. Imagination, far from ſeeking to diminiſh the obligations incumbent upon this virtue, delights in exaggerating them. It is thought that it cannot ſubſiſt without an entire neglect of one's ſelf, a total renunciation of all perſonal intereſts in favour of the friend truly beloved.

It is not given to all men to enjoy the ſweets of friendſhip. Several can neither feel it themſelves, nor inſpire it to others, on account of the coldneſs and ſtiffneſs of their character. How is it poſſible that it ſhould enter into the heart of the rich? They have no other concern but their preſent opulence, the deſire of increaſing it, and the dread of loſing it. The powerful man requires none but flatterers, who ſcarce can venture to raiſe their timid looks up to him; and mean ſouls, who ſervilely implore his protection. What pleaſure could he find in an intimate friendly conection, which the loweſt claſs of citizens might enjoy as well,

or better, than he? The diſſipated man is equally incapable of ſtrong or laſting affection; he is wholly abſorbed in ſhow, and in a variety of pleaſures. His enjoyments are external, and his heart totally unconnected with his attachments.

Friendſhip among ſavages is never broken by that variety of claſhing intereſts, which in our ſocieties weaken even the tendereſt and the moſt ſacred connections. When a man hath once made his choice, he depoſits in the breaſt of his aſſociate his inmoſt thoughts, his ſentiments, his projects, his ſorrows, and his joys. The two friends ſhare every thing in common; their union is for life; they fight ſide by ſide; and if one ſhould fall, the other certainly expires upon the body of his friend. Even then they cheriſh the flattering perſuaſion, that their ſeparation will be only momentary, and that they ſhall rejoin each other in another world, where they ſhall never part, and where they ſhall perpetually render each other the moſt important ſervices. An Iroquois, who was a chriſtian, but who did not live according to the maxims of the goſpel, was threatened with eternal puniſhments. He aſked whether his friend, who had been buried a few days, was in hell? I have ſtrong reaſons to believe, replied the miſſionary, that he hath not been ſent to that place of torment. If that be the caſe, replied the ſavage, I will not go there either. He immediately promiſed to alter his manners, and after this, always led a very exemplary life.

The ſavages ſhew a degree of penetration and ſagacity, which aſtoniſhes every man who has not obſerved how much our arts and methods of life contribute to render our minds dull and inactive: becauſe we are ſeldom under a neceſſity of thinking, and have only the trouble to learn. If however they have never improved any thing, any more than thoſe animals, in which we obſerve the greateſt ſhare of ſagacity, it is probably becauſe, as they have no ideas but ſuch as relate to their preſent wants, the equality that ſubſiſts between them lays every individual under a neceſſity of thinking for himſelf, and of ſpending his whole life in acquiring this common ſtock of knowledge; hence it may be reaſonably inferred, that the ſum total of ideas in a ſociety of ſavages is no more than the ſum of ideas in each individual.

Inſtead of abſtruſe meditations, the ſavages delight in ſongs. They are ſaid to have no variety in their ſinging; but it is uncertain whether thoſe who have heard them had an ear properly adapted to their muſic. When we firſt hear a foreign language ſpoken, the whole ſeems one continued ſound, and appears to be pronounced with the ſame tone of voice, without any modulation or profody. It is only by continued habit that we learn to diſtinguiſh the words and ſyllables, and to perceive that the ſound of ſome is dull, and that of others ſharp, and that it is more or leſs lengthened out. Would it not require at leaſt as much time to enable us to determine any thing certain with regard to the muſic of any nation, which muſt always be ſubordinate to their language?

Their dances are generally an emblem of war; and they uſually dance with their weapons in their hands. There is ſomething ſo regular, rapid, and terrible, in theſe dances, that an European, when firſt he ſees them, cannot help ſhuddering. He imagines that the ground will in a moment be covered with blood and ſcattered limbs, and that none of the dancers or the ſpectators will ſurvive. It is ſomewhat remarkable, that in the firſt ages of the world, and among ſavage nations, dancing ſhould be an imitative art, and that it ſhould have loſt that characteriſtic in civilized countries, where it ſeems to be reduced to a ſet of uniform ſteps without meaning. But it is with dances as with languages, they grow abſtracted like the ideas they are intended to repreſent. The ſigns of them are more allegorical as the minds of the people become more refined. In the ſame manner as a ſingle word, in a learned language, expreſſes ſeveral ideas; ſo, in an allegorical dance, a ſingle ſtep, a ſingle attitude, is ſufficient to excite a variety of ſenſations. It is owing to want of imagination, either in the dancers, or the ſpectators, if a figured dance be not, or do not appear to be, expreſſive. Beſides, the ſavages can exhibit none but ſtrong paſſions and ferocious manners, and theſe muſt be repreſented by more ſignificant images in their dances, which are the language of geſture, the firſt and ſimpleſt of all languages. Nations living in a ſtate of civil ſociety, and in peace, have only the gentler paſſions to repreſent, which are beſt expreſſed by delicate images, fit to convey refined ideas. It might not, however, be

improper ſometimes to bring back dancing to its firſt origin, to exhibit the old ſimplicity of manners, to revive the firſt ſenſations of nature by motions which repreſent them, to depart from the antiquated and ſcientific mode of the Greeks and Romans, and to adopt the lively and ſignificant images of the rude Canadians.

Theſe ſavages, always totally devoted to the purſuit of the preſent paſſion, are extravagantly fond of gaming, as is uſual with all idle people, and eſpecially of games of chance. The ſame men, who are commonly ſo ſedate, moderate, and diſintereſted, and have ſuch a command of themſelves, are outrageous, greedy, and turbulent, at play; they loſe their peace, their ſenſes, and all they are poſſeſſed of. Deſtitute of almoſt every thing, coveting all they ſee, and, when they like it, eager to have and enjoy it, their attention is entirely turned to the moſt ſpeedy and readieſt way of acquiring it. This is a conſequence of their manners, as well as of their character. The proſpect of preſent happineſs always prevents them from diſcerning the evils that may enſue. Their forecaſt does not even reach from day to night. They are alternately ſilly children and violent men. Every thing depends with them on the preſent moment.

Gaming alone would lead them to ſuperſtition, even if they were not naturally ſubject to that ſcourge of the human race. But as they have few phyſicians or empirics of this kind to have recourſe to, they ſuffer leſs from this diſtemper of the mind than more poliſhed nations, and are better diſpoſed to attend to the ſuggeſtions of reaſon, which abate the violence of it. The Iroquois have a confuſed notion of a firſt Being who governs the world at pleaſure. They never repine at the evil which this Being permits. When ſome miſchance befals them, they ſay, "the man "above will have it ſo;" and there is, perhaps, more philoſophy in this ſubmiſſion, than in all the reaſonings and declamations of our philoſophers. Moſt other ſavage nations worſhip thoſe two firſt principles of good and evil, which occur to the human mind as ſoon as it has acquired any conception of inviſible ſubſtances. Sometimes they worſhip a river, a foreſt, the ſun or the moon; in ſhort, any beings in which they have obſerved a certain power and motion;

becauſe, wherever they ſee motion, which they cannot account for, they ſuppoſe there is a ſoul.

They ſeem to have ſome notion of a future ſtate; but, having no principles of morality, they do not think the next life is a ſtate of reward for virtue, and puniſhment for vice. They believed that the indefatigable huntſman, the fearleſs and mercileſs warrior, who has ſlain or burnt many enemies, and made his own town victorious, will after death paſs into a country, where he will be ſupplied with plenty of all kinds of animals to ſatisfy his hunger; whereas thoſe who are grown old in indolence, and without glory, will be for ever baniſhed into a barren land, where they will be eternally expoſed to famine and ſickneſs. Their tenets are ſuited to their manners and their wants. They believe in ſuch pleaſures and ſuch ſufferings as they are acquainted with. They have more hopes than fears, and are happy even in their deluſions. They are, however, often tormented with dreams.

Ignorance is naturally prone to connect ſomething myſterious with dreams, and to aſcribe them to the agency of ſome powerful being, who takes the opportunity, when our faculties are ſuſpended and lulled aſleep, of watching over us in the abſence of our ſenſes. It is, as it were, a ſoul, diſtinct from our own, that glides into us, to inform us of what is to come, when we cannot yet ſee it; though futurity be always preſent to that Being who created all things.

In the bleak and rough climates of Canada, where the people live by hunting, their nerves are apt to be painfully affected by the inclemency of the weather, and by fatigue and long abſtinence. Then theſe ſavages have melancholy and troubleſome dreams: they imagine they are ſurrounded with enemies; they ſee their town ſurpriſed and deluged in blood; they receive injuries and wounds; their wives, their children, their friends, are carried off. When they awake, they take theſe viſions for a warning from the gods; and that fear which firſt inſpired them with this idea adds to their natural ferocity, by the melancholy caſt it gives to their thoughts, and their gloomy complexions. The old women, who are uſeleſs in the world, dream for the ſafety of the commonwealth. Some weak old men alſo, like them too, dream on public affairs, in

which they have no ſhare or influence. Young men who are unfit for war or laborious exerciſes, will dream too, that they may bear ſome part in the adminiſtration of the clan. In vain hath it been attempted, during two centuries, to remove illuſions ſo deeply rooted. The ſavages have conſtantly replied, "you chriſtians laugh at the faith "we have in dreams, and yet require us to believe things "infinitely more improbable." Thus we ſee in theſe untutored nations the ſeeds of prieſtcraft, with all its train of evils.

Were it not for theſe melancholy fits and dreams, there would ſcarce ever be any contentions among them. Europeans, who have lived long in thoſe countries, aſſure us they never ſaw an Indian in a paſſion. Without ſuperſtition there would be as few national as private quarrels.

Private differences are moſt commonly adjuſted by the majority of the people. The reſpect ſhewn by the nation to the aggrieved party, ſooths his ſelf-love, and diſpoſes him to peace. It is more difficult to prevent quarrels, or to put an end to hoſtilities between two nations.

War often takes its riſe from hunting. When two companies, which were ſeparated by a foreſt a hundred leagues in extent, happen to meet, and to interfere with each other's ſport, they ſoon quarrel, and turn thoſe weapons againſt one another, which were intended for the deſtruction of bears. This ſlight ſkirmiſh is a ſource of eternal diſcord. The vanquiſhed party vows implacable vengeance againſt the conquerors; a national hatred which will be maintained by their poſterity, and be rekindled from their aſhes. The mutual wounds which both parties ſuffer in ſkirmiſhes of this kind, ſometimes put a ſtop to theſe contentions; when on each ſide they happen to be occaſioned by ſome impetuous young men, who in the heat of youth may have been tempted to remove to a conſiderable diſtance, in order to make a trial of their military ſkill. But the contentions between whole nations are not eaſily excited.

The declaration of war, when it appears neceſſary, is not left to the judgment and deciſion of one man. The nation meets, and the chief ſpeaks. He ſtates the nature of the injury, and cauſes of complaint. The matter is conſidered; the dangers and the conſequences of a rupture are weighed. The orators ſpeak directly to the point, with-

out hesitation, without digression, or without mistaking the case. The arguments are discussed with a strength of reasoning and eloquence that arises from the evidence and simplicity of the matter in dispute; and even with an impartiality which is less affected by their strong passions, than it is among us by a combination of ideas. If war be unanimously determined by their giving a general shout, the allies are invited to join in it, which they seldom refuse, as they always have some injury to revenge, or some slain to replace by prisoners.

The savages next proceed to the election of a chief. When a certain number of men assemble to execute an enterprise, in which common interest is concerned, one person among them must be appointed to guide the motions of the multitude, of whom he must be the common soul; a soul which must command them all as imperiously as its orders are issued to the members of the body which it inhabits, and which must be obeyed with as much dispatch and punctuality. Whenever this identity ceases, disorder is introduced. It is no longer an army which hath the same object in view; it is a set of distinct officers and soldiers who have each of them their particular designs. That subordination which connects one hundred thousand men with all their powers to one commander, is the chief circumstance of distinctions between modern and ancient warriors. Among the latter, every man used to single out his enemy, and bid him defiance in the midst of the throng. An engagement was nothing more than a great number of duels fought at the same time upon a field of battle. It is not so at present, our armies consist of deep, large, and close, bodies of men, placed upon a line, pressed together, and moving in all directions as one single body. Formerly an engagement was a duel between man and man; at present, it is a duel of one body of men against another. The least want of subordination would bring on confusion, and confusion would occasion a horrid massacre and a humiliating defeat.

The dislike which the savages of Canada have for whatever may restrain their independence, hath not prevented them from perceiving the necessity of having a military chief. They have always been led to action by commanders, and physiognomy hath been always attended to in the choice

they have made of them. This might be a very fallacious, and even ridiculous, way of forming a judgment of men, where they have been trained up from their infancy to diſguiſe their real ſentiments, and where, by a conſtant practice of diſſimulation and artificial paſſions, the countenance is no longer expreſſive of the mind. But a ſavage, who is ſolely guided by nature, and is acquainted with its workings, ſeldom miſtakes in the judgment he forms at firſt ſight. The chief requiſite, next to a warlike aſpect, is a ſtrong voice; becauſe in armies that march without drums or clarions, in order more effectually to ſurpriſe the enemy, nothing is ſo proper to ſound an alarm, or to give the ſignal for the onſet, as the terrible voice of a chief, who ſhouts and ſtrikes at the ſame time. But the beſt recommendations for a general are his exploits. Every one is at liberty to boaſt of his victories, in order that he may be the firſt to expoſe himſelf to march foremoſt to meet danger; to tell what he has done, in order to ſhew what he will do: and the ſavages think ſelf-commendation not unbecoming a hero who can ſhew his ſcars.

He who is choſen to be chief, and to lead on the reſt in the path of glory, never fails to harangue them.—"Comrades," ſays he, "the bones of our brethren are "ſtill uncovered. They cry out againſt us; we muſt ſa-"tisfy them. Young men, to arms; fill your quivers; paint "yourſelves with gloomy colours that may ſtrike terror. "Let the woods ring with our war-ſongs. Let us ſooth "the dead with the ſhouts of vengeance. Let us go and "bathe in the blood of our enemies, take priſoners, and "fight as long as water ſhall flow in the rivers, and as long "as the ſun and moon ſhall remain fixed in the firmament."

At theſe words, thoſe brave men who are eager for war, go to the chief, and ſay, "we will ſhare the danger with "thee." "So you ſhall," replies the chief; "we will "ſhare it together." But as no perſuaſions are made uſe of to induce any one to join the army, leſt a falſe point of honour ſhould compel men of no courage to take the field, a man muſt undergo many trials before he can be admitted as a ſoldier. If a young man, who has never yet faced the enemy, ſhould betray the leaſt impatience, when, after long abſtinence, he is expoſed to the ſcorching heat of the ſun, the intenſe froſts of the night, or the ſtings of inſects,

be would be declared incapable, and unworthy to bear arms. Are the ſoldiers of our militias and armies formed in this manner? On the contrary, what a mournful and ominous ceremony is ours! Men who have not been able to eſcape being preſſed into the ſervice, or could not procure an exemption by purchaſe, or by virtue of ſome privilege, march heavily along, with downcaſt looks, and pale dejected faces, before a magiſtrate, whoſe office is odious to the people, and whoſe honeſty is doubtful. The afflicted and trembling parents ſeem to be following their ſon to the grave. A black ſcroll, iſſuing from a fatal urn, points out the victims which the prince devotes to war. A diſtracted mother in vain preſſes her ſon to her boſom, and ſtrives to detain him; he is torn from her arms, and ſhe bids him an eternal farewell, curſing the day of her marriage, and that of her delivery. It is not certainly by ſuch ſacrifices that good ſoldiers are to be acquired. It is not with ſuch ſcenes of diſtreſs and conſternation that the ſavages go to meet victory. They march out in the midſt of feſtivity, ſinging, and dancing. The young married women follow their huſbands for a day or two, without ſhewing any ſigns of grief or ſorrow. Theſe women, who do not even utter a groan in the pangs of child-birth, would ſcorn to ſoften the minds of the defenders and avengers of their country, by the tears even of tenderneſs and compaſſion.

The weapons of theſe ſavage nations are a kind of ſpear, armed with ſharp bones, and a ſmall club of very hard wood, of a round figure, and with one cutting edge. Inſtead of theſe laſt, ſince their acquaintance with the Europeans, they make uſe of a hatchet, which they manage with amazing dexterity. Moſt of them have no inſtrument of defence: but if they attack the palliſades that ſurround a town, they cover their body with a thin plank. Some of them uſed to wear a kind of cuiraſs, made with plaited reeds; but they left it off, on finding it was not proof againſt fire-arms.

The army is followed by dreamers, who aſſume the name of jugglers, and are too often ſuffered to determine the military operations. They march without any colours. All the warriors, who are almoſt naked, that they may be the more alert in battle, rub their bodies with coal, to appear more terrible, or with mould, that they may not be ſo ea-

ſily ſeen at a diſtance, and by that means may be better able to ſurpriſe the enemy. Notwithſtanding their natural intrepidity and averſion for all diſguiſe, their wars are carried on with artifice. Theſe ſtratagems, common to all nations, whether ſavage or civilized, are become neceſſary to the petty nations of Canada. They would have totally deſtroyed one another, had they not made the glory of their chiefs to conſiſt in bringing home all their companions, rather than in ſhedding the blood of their foes. Honour, therefore, is to be gained by falling upon the enemy before he is prepared. Theſe people, whoſe ſenſes have never been impaired, are extremely quick in their ſmell, and can diſcover the places where men have trode. By the keenneſs of that and of their ſight, it is ſaid they can trace footſteps that are made upon the ſhorteſt graſs, upon the dry ground, and even upon ſtone; and from the nature of the footſteps can diſcover to what nation the adventurers belong. Perhaps they may do this by the leaves from the foreſts, which always cover the ground.

When they are ſo fortunate as to ſurpriſe the enemy, they diſcharge a whole volley of arrows, and fall upon them with their clubs or hatchets. If they are upon their guard, or well intrenched, they retreat if they can; if not, they fight till they conquer or die. The victorious party diſpatch the wounded whom they cannot carry off, ſcalp the dead, and take ſome priſoners.

The conqueror leaves his hatchet upon the field of battle, having previouſly engraven upon it the mark of his nation, that of his family, and eſpecially his own picture; that is to ſay, an oval with the figures marked on his own face. Others paint all theſe enſigns of honour, or rather trophies of victory, on the ſtump of a tree, or on a piece of the bark, with coal mixed up with ſeveral colours. To this they add the hiſtory, not only of the battle, but of the whole campaign, in hieroglyphic characters. Next to the picture of the general, the number of his ſoldiers is marked by ſo many lines, that of the priſoners by ſo many little images, and that of the dead by ſo many human figures without heads. Such are the expreſſive and technical ſigns which, in all original ſocieties, have preceded the art of writing and printing, and the voluminous libraries

which fill the palaces of the rich and idle, and embarraſs the minds of the learned.

The hiſtory of an Indian war is but a ſhort one; they make haſte to deſcribe it, for fear the enemy ſhould rally and fall upon them. The conqueror glories in a precipitate retreat, and never ſtops till he reaches his own territory and his own town. There he is received with the warmeſt tranſports of joy, and finds his reward in the applauſes of his countrymen. A debate then enſues, how the priſoners, who are the only advantage of their victory, ſhall be diſpoſed of.

The moſt fortunate of the captives are thoſe who are choſen to replace the warriors who fell in the late action, or in former battles. This adoption has been wiſely contrived, to perpetuate nations, which would ſoon be deſtroyed by frequent wars. The priſoners being once incorporated into a family, become couſins, uncles, fathers, brothers, huſbands; in ſhort, they ſucceed to any degree of conſanguinity in which the deceaſed ſtood, whoſe place they ſupply; and theſe affectionate titles convey all their rights to them, at the ſame time that they bind them to all their engagements. Far from being averſe for attaching themſelves with all proper affection to the family that has adopted them, they will not refuſe even to take up arms againſt their own countrymen. Yet this is ſurely a ſtrange inverſion of the ties of nature. They muſt be very weak men, then to ſhift the object of their regard with the viciſſitudes of fortune. The truth is, that war ſeems to cancel all the bonds of nature, and to confine a man's feelings to himſelf alone. Hence ariſes that union between friends among the ſavages, which is obſerved to be ſtronger than that which ſubſiſts between relations. Thoſe who are to fight and die together, are more firmly attached than thoſe who are born together, or under the ſame roof. When war or death has diſſolved that conſanguinity which is cemented by nature, or has been formed by choice, the ſame fate which loads the ſavage with chains, gives him new relations and friends. Cuſtom and common conſent have authoriſed this ſingular law, which undoubtedly ſprang from neceſſity.

But it ſometimes happens that a priſoner refuſes this adoption; ſometimes that he is excluded from it. A tall hand-

ſome priſoner had loſt ſeveral of his fingers in battle. This circumſtance was not noticed at firſt. "Friend," ſaid the widow to whom he was allotted, "we had choſen you to "live with us; but in the condition you appear, unable "to fight and to defend us, of what uſe is life to you? "Death is certainly preferable." "I am of the ſame opi- "nion," anſwered the ſavage. "Well then," replied the woman, "this evening you ſhall be tied to the ſtake. For "your own glory, and for the honour of your family who "have adopted you, remember to behave like a man of "courage." He promiſed he would, and kept his word.

For three days he endured the moſt cruel torments, with a conſtancy and cheerfulneſs that ſet them all at defiance. His new family never forſook him, but encouraged him by their applauſe, and ſupplied him with drink and tobacco in the midſt of his ſufferings. What a mixture of virtue and ferociouſneſs! Every thing is great in theſe people who are not enſlaved. This is the ſublime of nature, in all its horrors and its beauties.

The captives whom none chooſe to adopt, are ſoon condemned to death. The victims are prepared for it by every thing that may tend to inſpire them with a fondneſs for life. The beſt fare, the kindeſt uſage, the moſt endearing names, are laviſhed upon them. They are even ſometimes indulged with women to the very moment of their ſentence. Is this compaſſion, or is it a refinement of barbarity? At laſt a herald comes, and acquaints the wretch that the pile is ready. "Brother," ſays he, "be patient, "you are going to be burnt." "Very well brother," ſays the priſoner, "I thank you."

Theſe words are received with general applauſe; but the women are the moſt violent in their expreſſions of the common joy. She to whom the priſoner is delivered up, inſtantly invokes the ſhade of a father, a huſband, a ſon, the deareſt friend, whoſe death is ſtill unrevenged. "Draw "near," ſhe cries, "I am preparing a feaſt for thee. Come "and drink large draughts of the broth I intend to give "thee. This warrior is going to be put into the cauldron. "They will apply hot hatchets all over his body: they "will ſcalp him: they will drink out of his ſkull: thou "ſhalt be avenged and ſatisfied."

This furious woman then ruſhes upon her victim, who is

tied to a poſt near the fiery pile, and by ſtriking or maiming him, ſhe gives the ſignal for the intended cruelties. There is not a woman or child in the clan whom this ſight has brought together, who does not take a part in torturing and ſlaying the miſerable captive. Some pierce his fleſh with firebrands; others cut it in ſlices; ſome tear off his nails; while others cut off his fingers, roaſt them, and devour them before his face. Nothing ſtops his executioners but the fear of haſtening his end: they ſtudy to prolong his ſufferings for whole days, and ſometimes they make him linger for a week.

In the midſt of theſe torments, the hero ſings, in a barbarous, but heroic, manner, the glory of his former victories: he ſings the pleaſure he formerly took in ſlaying his enemies. His expiring voice is raiſed, to expreſs the hope he entertains of being revenged; and to tell his perſecutors that they know not how to avenge their anceſtors, whom he hath maſſacred. He chooſes to bid defiance to his executioners, the moment when their rage appears rather ſlackened; and he endeavours to excite it anew, in order that the exceſs of his ſufferings may diſplay the exceſs of his courage. It is a conflict between the victim and his tormentors; a dreadful challenge between conſtancy in ſuffering and obſtinacy in torturing. But the ſenſe of glory predominates. Whether this intoxication of enthuſiaſm ſuſpends, or wholly benumbs, all ſenſe of pain; or whether cuſtom and education alone produce theſe prodigies of heroiſm; certain it is, that the ſufferer dies without ever ſhedding a tear or heaving a ſigh. Let fanatics of all falſe religions no longer boaſt the conſtancy of their martyrs: the ſavage of nature goes beyond all their miraculous accounts.

How ſhall we account for this inſenſibility? Is it owing to the climate, or to the manner of life? Colder blood, thicker humours, a conſtitution rendered more phlegmatic by the dampneſs of the air and the ground may doubtleſs blunt the irritability of the nervous ſyſtem in Canada. Men who are conſtantly expoſed to all the inclemencies of the weather, the fatigues of hunting, and the perils of war, contract ſuch a rigidity of fibres, ſuch a habit of ſuffering, as makes them inſenſible to pain. It is ſaid, the ſavages are ſcarce ever convulſed in the agonies of death, whether they die of ſickneſs or of a wound. As they have no apprehen-

ſions, either of the approaches or the conſequences of death, their imagination does not ſuggeſt that artificial ſenſibility againſt which nature has guarded them. Their whole life, whether conſidered in a natural or moral view, is calculated to inſpire them with a contempt for death, which we ſo much dread; and to enable them to overcome the ſenſe of pain, which is increaſed by our indulgencies.

But a circumſtance ſtill more aſtoniſhing in the character of the Indians than their reſolution in ſupporting tortures, is the rancour that appears in their revenge. It is dreadful to think that man may become the moſt cruel of all animals. In general, revenge is not proſecuted with cruelty either among nations, or between individuals who are governed by good laws; which, at the ſame time that they protect the ſubject, reſtrain him from committing injuries. Vengeance is not a very lively principle in wars that are carried on between great nations, becauſe they have but little to fear from their enemies. But in thoſe petty nations, where a conſiderable ſhare of the power of the ſtate belongs to each individual, where the loſs of one man endangers the whole community, war is nothing elſe than a ſpirit of revenge that actuates the whole body. Among independent men, who entertain a degree of eſteem for themſelves, which can never be felt by men who are under ſubjection; among ſavages whoſe affections are very lively, and confined to a few objects, injuries muſt neceſſarily be reſented to the greateſt degree, becauſe they affect the perſon in the moſt ſenſible manner: the aſſaſſination of a friend, of a ſon, of a brother, or of a fellow-citizen, muſt be avenged by the death of the aſſaſſin. Theſe beloved ſhades are continually calling out for vengeance from their graves. They wander about in the foreſts, amidſt the mournful accents of the birds of night; they appear in the phoſphorus and in the lightning; and ſuperſtition pleads for them in the afflicted or incenſed hearts of their friends.

When we conſider the hatred which the hordes of theſe ſavages bear to each other; the hardſhips they undergo; the ſcarcity they are often expoſed to; the frequency of their wars; the ſmall number of inhabitants; the numberleſs ſnares we lay for them; we cannot but foreſee that, in leſs than three centuries the whole race will be extinct. What

judgment will poſterity form of this ſpecies of men, who will exiſt only in the deſcriptions of travellers? Will not the accounts given of the ſavages appear to them in the ſame light as the fables of antiquity do to us? It will ſpeak of them, as the centaurs and lapithæ are ſpoken of by us. How many contradictions will not poſterity diſcover in their cuſtoms and manners! Will not ſuch of our writings as may then have eſcaped the deſtructive hand of time, paſs for romantic inventions, like thoſe which Plato has left us concerning the ancient Atalantic?

The French imprudently take a part in the wars of the ſavages.

The character of the North Americans, as we have deſcribed it, had ſingularly diſplayed itſelf in the war between the Iroquois and the Algonquins. Theſe two nations, the moſt numerous in Canada, had formed a kind of confederacy. The former, who tilled the ground, imparted their productions to their allies, who in return ſhared with them the fruits of their chaſe. Connected by their reciprocal wants, they mutually defended each other. During the ſeaſon when all the labours of agriculture were interrupted by the ſnow on the ground, they lived together. The Algonquins went a-hunting; and the Iroquois ſtaid at home, to ſkin the beaſts, cure the fleſh, and dreſs the hides.

It happened one year that a party of Algonquins, who were not very dexterous, or much uſed to the chaſe, proved unſucceſsful. The Iroquois who attended them, deſired leave to try whether they ſhould ſucceed better. This requeſt, which had ſometimes been complied with, was not granted. Irritated at this unſeaſonable refuſal, they went out privately in the night, and brought home a great number of animals. The Algonquins greatly mortified, to blot out the very remembrance of their diſgrace, waited till the Iroquois huntſmen were aſleep, and put them all to death. This maſſacre occaſioned a great alarm. The offended nation demanded juſtice, which was haughtily refuſed; and they were given to underſtand that they muſt not expect the ſmalleſt ſatisfaction.

The Iroquois enraged at this contemptuous treatment, vowed that they would either be revenged, or that they would periſh in the attempt. But not being powerful

enough to venture to attack their haughty adverſaries, they removed to a greater diſtance in order try their ſtrength, and improve their military ſkill, by making war againſt ſome leſs formidable nations. As ſoon as they had learnt to approach like foxes, to attack like lions, and to fly like birds, as they expreſs themſelves, they were no longer afraid to encounter the Algonquins; and, therefore, carried on a war againſt them with a degree of ferociouſneſs proportionable to their reſentment.

It was juſt at the time when theſe animoſities were kindled throughout Canada, that the French made their firſt appearance in that country. The Montagnez, who inhabited the lower parts of the river St. Lawrence; the Algonquins, who were ſettled upon its banks, from Quebec to Montreal; the Hurons, who were diſperſed about the lake that bears that name; and ſome leſs conſiderable nations, who wandered about in the intermediate ſpaces; were all inclined to favour the ſettlement of the ſtrangers: theſe ſeveral nations combined againſt the Iroquois, and unable to withſtand them, imagined that they might find in their new gueſt an unexpected reſource, which would inſure them ſucceſs. From the opinion they entertained of the French, which ſeemed as if it were formed upon a thorough knowledge of their character, they flattered themſelves they might engage them in their quarrel, and were not diſappointed. Champlain, who ought to have availed himſelf of the ſuperior knowledge of the Europeans to effect a reconciliation between the Americans, did not even attempt it. He warmly eſpouſed the intereſts of his neighbours, and accompanied them in purſuit of their enemy.

The country of the Iroquois was near eighty leagues in length, and more than forty in breadth. It was bounded by the lake Erie, the lake Ontario, the river St. Lawrence, and the celebrated countries ſince known by the names of New York and Pennſylvania. The ſpace between theſe vaſt limits was watered by ſeveral fine rivers, and was inhabited by five nations, which could bring about twenty thouſand warriors into the field, though they are now reduced to leſs than fifteen hundred. They formed a kind of league or aſſociation, not unlike that of the Swiſs or the Dutch. Their deputies met once a-year, to hold their

feaſt of union, and to deliberate on the intereſts of the commonwealth.

Though the Iroquois did not expect to be again attacked by enemies who had ſo often been conquered, they were not unprepared. The engagement was begun with equal confidence on both ſides; one relying on their uſual ſuperiority; the other on the aſſiſtance of their new ally, whoſe fire-arms could not fail of inſuring the victory. And, indeed, no ſooner had Champlain, and the two Frenchmen who attended him, fired a ſhot, which killed two chiefs of the Iroquois, and mortally wounded a third, than the whole army fled in the utmoſt amazement and conſternation.

This alteration in the mode of attack induced them to think of changing their mode of defence. In the next campaign, they judged it neceſſary to intrench themſelves, to elude the force of weapons they were unacquainted with. But their precaution was ineffectual. Notwithſtanding an obſtinate reſiſtance, their intrenchments were forced by the Indians, ſupported by a briſker fire from a greater number of Frenchmen, than appeared in the firſt expedition. The Iroquois were almoſt all killed or taken. Thoſe who had eſcaped from the engagement were precipitated into a river and drowned.

This nation would probably have been deſtroyed, or compelled to live in peace, had not the Dutch, who in 1610 founded the colony of New Belgia in their neighbourhood, furniſhed them with arms and ammunition. Poſſibly too they might ſecretly foment their diviſions, the furs taken from the enemy during the continuance of hoſtilities being a greater object than thoſe they could procure from their own chaſe. However this may be, this connection reſtored the balance between both parties. Various hoſtilities and injuries were committed by each nation, which weakened the ſtrength of both. This perpetual ebb and flow of ſucceſs, which, in governments actuated by motives of intereſt rather than of revenge, would infallibly have reſtored tranquillity, ſerved but to increaſe animoſities, and to exaſperate a number of little clans, bent upon each other's deſtruction. The conſequence was, that the weakeſt of theſe petty nations were ſoon deſtroyed, and the reſt were gradually reduced to nothing.

THESE deſtructive events did not however contribute to advance the power of the French. In 1627, they had only three wretched ſettlements, ſurrounded with pales. The largeſt of theſe contained but fifty inhabitants, including men, women, and children. The climate had not proved deſtructive to the people ſent there: though ſevere, it was wholeſome; and the Europeans ſtrengthened their conſtitutions without endangering their lives. The little progreſs they made was entirely owing to an excluſive company, whoſe chief deſigns were not ſo much intended to create a national power in Canada, as to enrich themſelves by the fur trade. This evil might have been immediately removed, by aboliſhing this monopoly, and allowing a free trade; but it was not then time to adopt ſo ſimple a theory. The government, however, choſe only to employ a more numerous aſſociation, compoſed of men of greater property and credit.

The French ſettlement makes no progreſs. The cauſe of this.

They gave them the diſpoſal of the ſettlements that were or ſhould be formed in Canada, together with a power of fortifying and governing them as they thought proper, and of making war or peace, as ſhould beſt promote their intereſt. The whole trade by ſea and land was allowed them for a term of fifteen years, except the cod and whale fiſheries, which were left open to all. The beaver and all the fur trade was granted to the company for ever.

To all theſe were added further encouragements. The king made a preſent of two large ſhips to the company, which conſiſted of ſeven hundred proprietors. Twelve of the principal were raiſed to the rank of nobility. Gentlemen, and even the clergy, already too rich, were invited to ſhare in this trade. The company were allowed the liberty of ſending and exporting all kinds of commodities and merchandize, free of any duty whatſoever. A perſon who exerciſed any trade in the colony for the ſpace of ſix years, was intitled to the freedom of the ſame trade in France. The laſt favour granted them was the free entry of all goods manufactured in thoſe diſtant regions. This ſingular privilege, the motives of which it is not eaſy to diſcover, gave the manufacturers of New France an infinite advantage over thoſe of the mother country, who were encumber-

ed with a variety of duties, letters of maſterſhip, charges for ſtamps, and with all the impediments which ignorance and avarice had multiplied without end.

In return for ſo many marks of partiality, the company, which had a capital of a hundred thouſand crowns [12,500l.] engaged to bring into the colony, in the year 1628, which was the firſt year they enjoyed their charter, two or three hundred artificers of ſuch trades as were fitteſt for their purpoſe; and ſixteen thouſand men before the year 1643. They were to provide them with lodging and board, to maintain them for three years, and afterwards to give them as much cleared land as would be neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, with a ſufficient quantity of grain to ſow it the firſt year.

Fortune did not ſecond the endeavours of government in favour of the new company. The firſt ſhips they fitted out were taken by the Engliſh, who were lately at variance with France, on account of the ſiege of Rochelle. Richelieu and Buckingham, who were enemies from jealouſy, from perſonal character, from ſtate intereſt, and from every motive that can excite an irreconcilable enmity between two ambitious miniſters, took this opportunity to ſpirit up the two kings they governed, and the two nations they were endeavouring to oppreſs. The Engliſh, who fought for their intereſts, gained the advantage over the French; and the latter loſt Canada in 1629. The council of Lewis XIII were ſo little acquainted with the value of this ſettlement, that they were inclined not to demand the reſtitution of it; but the pride of the leading man, who, being at the head of the company, conſidered the encroachments of the Engliſh as a perſonal inſult, prevailed with them to alter their opinion. They met with leſs difficulty than they expected; and Canada was reſtored to the French, with peace, in 1631, by the treaty of St. Germain en Laye.

The French were not taught by adverſity. The ſame ignorance, the ſame negligence, prevailed after the recovery of Canada as before. The monopolizing company fulfilled none of their engagements. This breach of faith, far from being puniſhed, was in a manner rewarded by a prolongation of their charter. The clamours of all Canada were diſregarded at ſuch a diſtance; and the deputies ſent to

repreſent its wretched ſituation were denied acceſs to the throne, where timid truth is never ſuffered to approach, but is awed into ſilence by threats and puniſhments. This behaviour, equally repugnant to humanity, private intereſt, and good policy, was attended with ſuch conſequences as might naturally be expected from it.

The French had formed their ſettlement improperly. In order to have the appearance of reigning over an immenſe tract of country, and to draw nearer to the furs, they had placed their habitations at ſuch a diſtance from each other, that they had ſcarce any communication, and were unable to afford each other any aſſiſtance. The miſfortunes which were the reſult of this imprudence had not produced any alteration in their conduct. The intereſt of the moment made them always forget the paſt, and prevented them from foreſeeing the future. They were not properly in a ſocial ſtate, ſince the magiſtrates could not ſuperintend their morals, nor government provide for the ſafety of their perſons and property.

The audacious and ardent Iroquois ſoon perceived the defect of this conſtitution, and purſued meaſures to avail themſelves of it. The weak bands of ſavages which had been ſheltered from their fury, deprived of that ſupport which conſtituted their ſecurity, ſoon fled before them. This firſt ſucceſs inſpired the Iroquois with the hopes of compelling their protectors to croſs the ſea again, and even of being able to deprive theſe foreigners of their children, that with them they might fill the place of thoſe warriors they had loſt in the preceding wars. To avoid theſe calamities and humiliations, the French were obliged to erect, in each of the diſtricts which they occupied, a kind of fort, where they took refuge, and where they ſheltered their proviſions and their cattle, at the approach of theſe irreconcilable foes. Theſe paliſadoes, commonly ſupported by ſome indifferent guns, were never forced, and perhaps even never blocked up; but whatever was found on the outſide of the intrenchments was either deſtroyed or carried off by theſe barbarians. Such was the miſery and deplorable ſtate of the colony, that it was reduced to ſubſiſt upon the charitable contributions which the miſſionaries received from Europe.

The French are roused from their inactivity. Means by which this change was effected.

The French miniſtry, at length awakened from their lethargy by that general commotion which at that time agitated every nation, ſent a body of four hundred well-diſciplined troops to Canada in 1662. This corps was reinforced two years after. The French gradually recovered an abſolute ſuperiority over the Iroquois. Three of their nations, alarmed at their loſſes, made propoſals for an accommodation; and the other two were ſo much weakened, that they were induced to accede to it in 1668. At this time the colony firſt enjoyed a profound peace, which paved the way for its proſperity; and a freedom of trade contributed to ſecure it. The beaver trade alone continued to be monopolized.

This revolution in affairs excited induſtry. The former coloniſts, whoſe weakneſs had till then confined them within their ſettlements, now ventured to extend their plantations, and cultivated them with greater confidence and ſucceſs. All the ſoldiers who conſented to ſettle in the New World obtained their diſcharge, together with a grant of ſome property. The officers had lands given them in proportion to their rank. The former ſettlements were improved; and new ones eſtabliſhed, wherever the intereſt or ſafety of the colony required it. This ſpirit and activity occaſioned an increaſe of traffic with the Indians, and revived the intercourſe between both continents. This proſperity ſeemed likely to receive additional advantages from the care taken by the ſuperintendants of the colony, not only to preſerve friendſhip with the neighbouring nations, but likewiſe to eſtabliſh peace and harmony among themſelves. Not a ſingle act of hoſtility was committed throughout an extent of four or five hundred leagues; a circumſtance, perhaps, unheard of before in North America. It ſhould ſeem that the French had kindled the war at their arrival, only to extinguiſh it the more effectually.

But this concord could not continue among people who were always armed for the chaſe, unleſs the power that had effected it ſhould preſerve it by the ſuperiority of its forces. The Iroquois, finding this precaution was neglected, reſumed that reſtleſs diſpoſition ariſing from their love of

revenge and dominion. They were, however, careful to continue on good terms with all who were either allies or neighbours to the French. Notwithſtanding this moderation, they were told, that they muſt immediately lay down their arms, and reſtore all the priſoners they had taken, or expect to ſee their country deſtroyed, and their habitations burnt down. This haughty ſummons incenſed their pride. They anſwered, that they ſhould never ſuffer the leaſt incroachment on their independence; and that they ſhould make the French ſenſible, that they were friends not to be neglected, and enemies not to be deſpiſed. But, as they were ſtaggered with the air of authority that had been aſſumed, they complied in part with the terms required of them; and the affair was thus compromiſed.

But this kind of humiliation rather increaſed the reſentment of a people more accuſtomed to commit than to ſuffer injuries. The Engliſh, who in 1664 had diſpoſſeſſed the Dutch of New Belgia, and remained maſters of the territory they had acquired, which they had called New York, availed themſelves of the diſpoſitions of the Iroquois. They not only excited the ſpirit of diſcord, but added preſents to induce them to break with the French. The ſame artifices were uſed to ſeduce the reſt of their allies. Thoſe who adhered to their allegiance were attacked. All were invited, and ſome compelled to bring their beaver and other furs to New York, where they ſold at a higher price than in the French colony.

Denonville, who had lately been ſent to Canada to enforce obedience to the authority of the proudeſt of monarchs, was impatient of all theſe inſults. Though he was in a condition not only to defend his own frontiers, but even to encroach upon thoſe of the Iroquois; yet, ſenſible that this nation muſt not be attacked without being deſtroyed, it was agreed that the French ſhould remain in a ſtate of ſeeming inaction, till they had received from Europe the neceſſary reinforcements for executing ſo deſperate a reſolution. Theſe ſuccours arrived in 1687; and the colony had then 11,249 perſons, of whom about one third were able to bear arms.

Notwithſtanding this ſuperiority of forces, Denonville had recourſe to ſtratagem, and diſhonoured the French name among the ſavages by an infamous perfidy. Under

pretence of terminating their differences by negociation, he baſely abuſed the confidence which the Iroquois repoſed in the jeſuit Lamberville, to allure their chiefs to a conference. As ſoon as they arrived, they were put in irons, embarked at Quebec, and ſent to the galleys.

On the firſt report of this treachery, the old men ſent for their miſſionary, and addreſſed him in the following manner: "We are authoriſed by every motive to treat "you as an enemy, but we cannot reſolve to do it. Your "heart has had no ſhare in the inſult that has been put "upon us; and it would be unjuſt to puniſh you for a "crime you deteſt ſtill more than ourſelves. But you "muſt leave us. Our raſh young men might conſider you "in the light of a traitor, who has delivered up the chiefs "of our nation to ſhameful ſlavery." After this ſpeech, theſe ſavages, whom the Europeans have always called barbarians, gave the miſſionary ſome guides, who conducted him to a place of ſafety; and then both parties took up arms.

The French preſently ſpread terror among the Iroquois bordering upon the great lakes; but Denonville had neither the activity nor the expedition neceſſary to improve theſe firſt ſucceſſes. While he was taken up in deliberating, inſtead of acting, the campaign was cloſed without the acquiſition of any permanent advantage. This increaſed the boldneſs of the Iroquois who lived near the French ſettlements, where they repeatedly committed the moſt dreadful ravages. The planters, finding their labours deſtroyed by theſe depredations, which deprived them of the means of repairing the damages they had ſuſtained, ardently wiſhed for peace. Denonville's temper coincided with their wiſhes; but it was no eaſy matter to pacify an enemy rendered implacable by ill uſage. Lamberville, who ſtill maintained his former aſcendant over them, made overtures of peace, which were liſtened to.

While theſe negociations were carrying on, a Machiavel, born in the foreſts, known by the name of Le Rat, the braveſt, the moſt reſolute, the moſt intelligent, ſavage ever found in the wilds of North America, arrived at Fort Frontenac with a choſen band of Hurons, fully determined upon exploits worthy of the reputation he had acquired. He was told, that a treaty was actually on foot; that the

deputies of the Iroquois were upon the road to conclude it at Montreal; and that it would be an infult upon the French governor, if hoſtilities ſhould be carried on againſt a nation with which they were negociating a peace.

Le Rat, piqued that the French ſhould thus enter into negociations without conſulting their allies, reſolved to puniſh them for their preſumption. He lay in wait for the for the deputies, ſome of whom were killed, and the reſt taken priſoners. When the latter told him the purport of their voyage, he feigned the greater ſurpriſe, as Denonville, he ſaid, had ſent him to intercept them. In order to carry on the deceit more ſucceſsfully, he immediately releaſed them all, except one, whom he pretended to keep, to replace one of his Hurons who had been killed in the fray. He then haſtened to Michillimakinac, where he preſented his priſoner to the French commandant, who, not knowing that Denonville was treating with the Iroquois, cauſed the unhappy ſavage to be put to death. Immediately after this, Le Rat ſent for an old Iroquois, who had long been a priſoner among the Hurons, and gave him his liberty to go and acquaint his nation, that, while the French were amuſing their enemies with negociations, they continued to take priſoners and murder them. This artifice, worthy of the moſt infamous European policy, ſucceeded as the ſavage Le Rat deſired. The war was renewed with greater fury than ever, and laſted the longer, as the Engliſh, who about that period were engaged in a conteſt with France, on account of the depoſition of James II, thought it their intereſt to make an alliance with the Iroquois.

An Engliſh fleet, which ſailed from Europe in 1690, appeared before Quebec in October, to lay ſiege to the place. They had reaſon to expect but a faint reſiſtance, as the ſavages were to make a powerful diverſion, to draw off the principal land-forces of the colony. But they were compelled ſhamefully to relinquiſh the enterpriſe, after having ſuſtained great loſſes. The cauſes of this diſappointment merit ſome diſcuſſion.

When the Britiſh miniſtry projected the reduction of Canada, they determined that the land and ſea forces ſhould arrive there at the ſame time. This wiſe plan was executed with the utmoſt exactneſs. As the ſhips were

ſailing up the river St. Lawrence, the troops marched by land, in order to reach the ſcene of action at the ſame inſtant as the fleet. They were nearly arrived, when the Iroquois, who conducted and ſupported them, recollected the hazard they ran in leading their allies to the conqueſt of Quebec. Situated as we are between two European nations, ſaid they in a council which they held, each powerful enough to deſtroy us, both intereſted in our deſtruction, when they no longer ſtand in need of our aſſiſtance; what better meaſure can we take, than to prevent the one from being victorious over the other? Then will each of them be compelled to court our alliance, or to bribe us to a neutrality. This ſyſtem, which ſeemed to be dictated by the ſame kind of deep policy as that which directs the balance of Europe, determined the Iroquois to return to their reſpective homes under various pretences. Their defection obliged the Engliſh to retreat; and the French, now in ſecurity on their lands, united all their forces with as much unanimity as ſucceſs for the defence of their capital.

The Iroquois, from motives of policy, ſtifled their reſentment againſt the French, and were attached rather to the name than to the intereſts of England. Theſe two European powers, therefore, irreconcilable rivals to each other, but ſeparated by the territory of a ſavage nation, equally apprehenſive of the ſuperiority of either, were prevented from doing each other ſo much injury as they could have wiſhed. The war was carried on merely by a few depredations, fatal to the coloniſts, but of little conſequence to the ſeveral nations concerned in them. During the ſcene of cruelties exerciſed by the ſeveral parties of Engliſh and Iroquois, French and Hurons, whoſe ravages extended one hundred leagues from home, ſome actions were performed, which ſeemed to render human nature ſuperior to ſuch enormities.

Some French and Indians having joined in an expedition that required a long march, their proviſions began to fail. The Hurons caught plenty of game, and always offered ſome to the French, who were not ſuch ſkilful huntſmen. The latter would have declined accepting this generous offer; "you ſhare with us the fatigues of war," ſaid the ſavages; "it is but reaſonable that we ſhould

"ſhare with you the neceſſaries of life; we ſhould not be "men if we acted otherwiſe with men." If ſimilar inſtances of magnanimity may have ſometimes occurred among Europeans, the following is peculiar to ſavages.

A party of Iroquois being informed that a party of the French and their allies were advancing with ſuperior forces, they fled with precipitation. They were headed by Onontague, who was a hundred years old. He ſcorned to fly with the reſt, and choſe rather to fall into the hands of the enemy; though he had nothing to expect but exquiſite torments. What a ſpectacle to ſee four hundred barbarians eager in tormenting an old man; who far from complaining, treated the French with the utmoſt contempt, and upbraided the Hurons with having ſtooped to be the ſlaves of thoſe vile Europeans! One of his tormentors, provoked at his invectives, ſtabbed him in three places to put an end to his repeated inſults. "Thou doſt wrong," ſaid Onontague, calmly to him, "to ſhorten my life; thou "wouldſt have had more time to learn to die like a man." And are theſe the men whom the French and Engliſh have been conſpiring to extirpate for a century paſt? But, perhaps, they would be aſhamed to live among ſuch models of heroiſm and magnanimity.

The peace of Ryſwick put a ſudden end to the calamities of Europe and the hoſtilities in America. The Hurons and the Iroquois, as well as the French and Engliſh, were ſenſible that they required a long continuance of peace, to repair the loſſes they had ſuſtained in war. The Indians began to recover themſelves; the Europeans reſumed their labours; and the fur trade, the firſt that could be entered into with a nation of huntſmen, was more firmly eſtabliſhed.

The furs are the foundation of the connections between the French and the Indians.

BEFORE the diſcovery of Canada, the foreſts with which it was over-run were little more than the extenſive haunt of wild beaſts, which had multiplied prodigiouſly; becauſe the few men who lived in thoſe deſerts having no flocks or tame animals, left more room and more food for ſuch as were wandering and free like themſelves. If the nature of the climate did not afford an infinite vari-

ety, each ſpecies produced, at leaſt, a multitude of individuals. But they at laſt paid tribute to the ſovereignty of man, that cruel power which hath always been exerciſed in a manner ſo fatal to every living creature. Having neither arts nor huſbandry to employ them, the ſavages fed and clothed themſelves entirely with the wild beaſts they deſtroyed. As ſoon as luxury had led us to make uſe of their ſkins, the natives waged a perpetual war againſt them; which was the more active, as it procured them plenty, and a variety of gratifications which they were unaccuſtomed to; and the more deſtructive, as they had adopted the uſe of our fire arms. This fatal induſtry exerciſed in the woods of Canada, occaſioned a great quantity and prodigious variety of furs to be brought into the ports of France; ſome of which were conſumed in the kingdom, and the reſt diſpoſed of in the neighbouring countries. Moſt of theſe furs were already known in Europe; they came from the northern parts of our hemiſphere, but in too ſmall quantities to ſupply a general demand. Caprice and novelty have made them more or leſs in faſhion, ſince it has been found to be for the intereſt of the American colonies that they ſhould be valued in the mother countries. It may not be improper to give ſome account of thoſe that are ſtill in requeſt.

The otter is a voracious animal, which runs or ſwims along the banks of the lakes or rivers, commonly lives upon fiſh, and, when that fails, will feed upon graſs, or the rind of aquatic plants. From his manner and place of living he has been ranked amongſt amphibious animals, who can equally live in the air and under water; but improperly, ſince the otter, like all other land animals, cannot live without reſpiration. He is found in all thoſe countries which abound in water, and are temperate, but is more common and much larger in the northern parts of America. His hair is nowhere ſo black or ſo fine; a circumſtance the more fatal to him, as it expoſes him more to the purſuits of man.

The pole-cat is in equal eſtimation among the Canadian huntſmen. There are three ſpecies of this animal: the firſt is the common pole-cat; the ſecond is called the mink; and the third the ſtinking pole-cat, becauſe his urine, which he voids in his fright when he is purſued, is ſo

offenſive, that it infects the air at a great diſtance. Their hair is darker, more gloſſy, and more ſilky, than in Europe.

Even the rat in North America is valuable for his ſkin. There are two ſorts eſpecially whoſe ſkin is an article of trade. The one, which is called the opoſſum, is twice as large as an European rat. His hair is commonly of a ſilver grey, ſometimes of a clear white. The female has a bag under her belly, which ſhe can open and ſhut at pleaſure. When ſhe is purſued, ſhe puts her young ones into this bag, and runs away with them. The other, which is called the muſk-rat, becauſe his teſticles contain muſk, has all the characteriſtic qualities of the beaver, of which he ſeems to be be a diminutive; and his ſkin is employed for the ſame purpoſes.

The ermine, which is about the ſize of a ſquirrel, but not quite ſo long, has the ſame lively eyes, keen look, and his motions are ſo quick that the eye cannot follow them. The tip of his long and buſhy tail is as black as jet. His hair, which is yellow as gold in ſummer, turns as white as ſnow in winter. This lively and light animal is one of the beauties of Canada; but, though ſmaller than the ſable, is not ſo common.

The martin is only to be met with in cold countries, in the centre of the foreſts, far from all habitations, is a beaſt of prey, and lives upon birds. Though it is but a foot and a half long, it leaves prints on the ſnow that appear to be the footſteps of a very large animal; becauſe it always jumps along, and leaves the marks of both feet together. Its fur is much eſteemed, though far inferior to that ſpecies which is diſtinguiſhed by the name of the ſable. This is of a ſhining black. The fineſt among them are thoſe whoſe ſkin is the moſt brown, and reaches along the back quite to the tip of the tail. The martins ſeldom quit the inmoſt receſſes of their impenetrable woods more than once in two or three years. The natives think it portends a good winter; that is, a great quantity of ſnow, and conſequently good ſport.

The animal which the ancients called lynx, known in Siberia by the name of the ounce, is only called the wild-cat in Canada, where it is ſmaller than in our hemiſphere. This animal, to whom vulgar error would not have attri-

buted very piercing eyes, if he were not endowed with the faculty of ſeeing, hearing, and ſmelling, at a diſtance, lives upon what game he can catch, which he purſues to the very tops of the talleſt trees. His fleſh is known to be very white and well flavoured; but he is hunted chiefly for the ſake of his ſkin; the hair of which is very long, and of a fine light grey, but leſs eſteemed than that of the fox.

This carnivorous and miſchievous animal is a native of the frozen climates, where nature, affording few vegetables, ſeems to compel all animals to eat one another. In warmer climates he has loſt much of his original beauty, and his fur is not ſo fine. In the north, it has remained long, ſoft, and full, ſometimes white, ſometimes brown, and often red or ſandy. The fineſt of any is that which is black; but this is more ſcarce in Canada than in Muſcovy, which lies further north, and is not ſo damp.

Beſide theſe ſmaller furs, North America ſupplies us with ſkins of the ſtag, the deer, and the roebuck; of the mooze-deer, called there caribou; and of the elk, which is called orignal. Theſe two laſt kinds, which in our hemiſphere are only found towards the polar circle, the elk on this ſide, and the mooze-deer beyond, are to be met with in America in more ſouthern latitudes. This may be owing to the cold being more intenſe in America, from ſingular cauſes, which make an exception to the general law of nature; or it may poſſibly ariſe from theſe freſh lands being leſs frequented by deſtructive man. Their ſtrong, ſoft, and warm, ſkins, make excellent garments, which are very light. All theſe animals are hunted by the Europeans; but the ſavages have reſerved the chaſe of the bear to themſelves, it being their favourite ſport, and beſt adapted to their warlike manners, their ſtrength, and their bravery, and eſpecially to their wants.

In a cold and ſevere climate, the bear is moſt commonly black. As he is rather ſhy than fierce, inſtead of a cavern, he chooſes for his lurking-place the hollow rotten trunk of an old tree. There he fixes himſelf in winter, as high as he can climb. As he is very fat at the end of autumn, very much covered with hair, takes no exerciſe, and is almoſt always aſleep, he muſt loſe but little by perſpiration, and conſequently muſt ſeldom want to go abroad in queſt

of food. But he is forced out of his retreat by its being ſet fire to; and as ſoon as he attempts to come down, he falls under a ſhower of arrows before he can reach the ground. The Indians feed upon his fleſh, rub themſelves with his greaſe, and clothe themſelves with his ſkin. Such was the deſign of their purſuit after the bear, when a new intereſt directed them towards the beaver.

Figure of the beavers. Their diſpoſition, and form of government.

THIS animal poſſeſſes all the friendly diſpoſitions fit for ſociety, without being ſubject, as we are, to the vices or misfortunes attendant upon it. Formed by nature for ſocial life, he is endowed with an inſtinct adapted to the preſervation and propagation of his ſpecies. This animal, whoſe tender plaintive accents, and whoſe ſtriking example, draw tears of admiration and pity from the humane philoſopher, who contemplates his life and manners; this harmleſs animal, who never hurts any living creature, neither carnivorous nor ſanguinary, is become the object of man's moſt earneſt purſuit, and the one which the ſavages hunt after with the greateſt eagerneſs and cruelty: a circumſtance owing to the unmerciful rapaciouſneſs of the moſt poliſhed nations of Europe.

The beaver is about three or four feet long, but his weight amounts to forty or ſixty pounds, which is the conſequence of the largeneſs of his muſcles. His head, which he carries downwards, is like that of a rat, and his back raiſed in an arch above it like that of a mouſe. Lucretius has obſerved, not that man has hands given him to make uſe of them, but that he had hands given him, and has made uſe of them. Thus the beaver has webs at his hinder feet, and he ſwims with them. The toes of his fore feet are ſeparate, and anſwer the purpoſe of hands; the tail, which is flat, oval, and covered with ſcales, he uſes to carry loads and to work with; he has four ſharp inciſors or cutting-teeth, which ſerve him inſtead of carpenter's tools. All theſe inſtruments, which are in a manner uſeleſs while he lives alone, and do not then diſtinguiſh him from other animals, are of infinite ſervice when he lives in ſociety, and enable him to diſplay a degree of ingenuity ſuperior to all inſtinct.

Without paſſions, without a deſire of doing injury to any, and without craft, when he does not live in ſociety, he ſcarcely ventures to defend himſelf. He never bites unleſs he be caught. But in the ſocial ſtate, in lieu of weapons, he has a variety of contrivances to ſecure himſelf without fighting, and to live without committing or ſuffering any injury. This peaceable and even tame animal is nevertheleſs independent: he is a ſlave to none, becauſe all his wants are ſupplied by himſelf: he enters into ſociety, but will not ſerve, nor does he pretend to command: and all his labours are directed by a ſilent inſtinct.

It is the common want of ſubſiſtence and propagation that calls the beavers home, and collects them together in ſummer to build their towns againſt winter. As early as June or July, they come in from all quarters, and aſſemble, to the number of two or three hundred; but always by the water ſide, becauſe theſe republicans are to live on the water, to ſecure themſelves from invaſion. Sometimes they give the preference to ſtill lakes in unfrequented diſtricts, becauſe there the waters are always at an equal height. When they find no pools of ſtanding water, they make one in the midſt of rivers or ſtreams, by means of a cauſeway or dam. The very plan of this contrivance implies ſuch a complication of ideas, as our ſhort-ſighted reaſon would be apt to think above any capacity but that of an intelligent being. The firſt thing to be erected is a pile a hundred feet long, and twelve feet thick at the baſis, which ſhelves away to two or three feet in a ſlope anſwerable to the depth of the waters. To ſave work, or to facilitate their labour, they chooſe the ſhalloweſt part of the river. If they find a large tree by the water-ſide, they fell it, ſo that it falls acroſs the ſtream. If it ſhould be larger in circumference than a man's body, they ſaw it through, or rather gnaw the foot with their four ſharp teeth. The branches are ſoon lopped off by theſe induſtrious workmen, who want to faſhion it into a beam. A number of ſmaller trees are felled and prepared for the intended pile. Some drag theſe trees to the river ſide, others ſwim over with them to the place where the cauſeway is to be raiſed. But the queſtion is, how theſe animals are to ſink them in the water with the aſſiſtance only of their teeth, tail, and feet: their contrivance is this. With their nails they dig a hole in the ground, or at the

bottom of the water. With their teeth they reſt the large end of the ſtake againſt the bank of the river, or againſt the great beam that lies acroſs. With their feet they raiſe the ſtake, and ſink it with the ſharp end downwards into the hole, where it ſtands upright. With their tails they make mortar, with which they fill up all the vacancies between the ſtakes, which are bound together with twiſted boughs; and thus the pile is conſtructed. The ſlope of the dam is oppoſite to the current, to break more effectually the force of the water by a gradual reſiſtance, and the ſtakes are driven in obliquely, in proportion to the inclination of the plane. The ſtakes are planted perpendicularly on the ſide where the water is to fall; and, in order to open a drain which may leſſen the effect of the ſlope and weight of the cauſeway, they make two or three openings at the top of it, by which part of the waters of the river may run off.

When this work is finiſhed by the whole body of the republic, every member conſiders of a lodging for himſelf. Each company builds a hut in the water upon the pile. Theſe huts are from four to ten feet in diameter, upon an oval or round ſpot. Some are two or three ſtories high, according to the number of families or houſeholds. Each hut contains at leaſt two or three, and ſome ten or fifteen. The walls, whether high or low, are about two feet thick, and are all arched at the top, and perfectly neat and ſolid both within and without. They are varniſhed with a kind of ſtucco, impenetrable by the water and by the external air. Every apartment has two openings; one on the land ſide, to enable the beavers to go out and fetch proviſions; the other on the ſide next the ſtream, to facilitate their eſcape at the approach of the enemy, that is, of man, the deſtroyer of cities and commonwealths. The window of the houſe opens to the water. There they take the freſh air in the day-time, plunged into the river up to their middle. In winter it ſerves to fence them againſt the ice, which collects to the thickneſs of two or three feet. The ſhelf, intended to prevent the ice from ſtopping up this window, reſts upon two ſtakes that ſlope ſo as to carry off the water from the houſe, and leave an outlet to eſcape, or to go and ſwim under the ice. The inſide of the houſe has no other furniture than a flooring of graſs, covered

with the boughs of the fir-tree. No filth of any kind is ever ſeen in theſe apartments.

The materials for theſe buildings are always to be found in their neighbourhood. Theſe are alders, poplars, and other trees, delighting in watery places, as theſe republicans do who build their apartments of them. Theſe citizens have the ſatisfaction, at the ſame time that they faſhion the wood, to nouriſh themſelves with it. Like certain ſavages of the frozen ocean, they eat the bark. The ſavages, indeed, do not like it till it is dried, pounded, and properly dreſſed; whereas the beavers chew it, and ſuck it when it is quite green.

Proviſions of bark and tender twigs are laid up in ſeparate ſtorehouſes, for every hut, proportionable to the number of its inhabitants. Every beaver knows his own ſtorehouſe, and not one of them ſteals from that of his neighbour. Each party live in their own habitation, and are contented with it, though jealous of the property they have acquired in it by their labour. The proviſions of the community are collected and expended without any conteſt. They are ſatisfied with that ſimple food which their labour prepares for them. The only paſſion they have, is that of conjugal affection, the baſis and end of which is the increaſe of their ſpecies.

Two of theſe animals matched together, and united by inclination and reciprocal choice, after being acquainted with each other by being mutually employed in the public labours during the ſummer months, agree to paſs the winter together. They prepare for this by the ſtock of proviſions they lay up in September. The happy couple retire into their hut in the autumnal ſeaſon, which is not leſs favourable to love than the ſpring. If the ſeaſon of flowers invite the birds of the ſky to propagate in the woods, the ſeaſon of fruits, perhaps, excites the inhabitants of the earth as powerfully to the re-production of their ſpecies. The winter at leaſt gives leiſure for amorous purſuits, and in this circumſtance compenſates the advantages of other ſeaſons. The couple then never quit each other.* Their whole time is conſecrated to love; from which neither labour nor any other object can divert them. The females conceive, and bear the endearing pledges of this univerſal paſſion of nature. If ſome ſunſhiny day ſhould chance to

enliven this melancholy ſeaſon, the happy couple go out of their hut, to walk on the borders of the lake or the river, there to eat ſome freſh bark, and to breathe the ſalutary exhalations of the earth. Towards the end of winter, however, the mothers bring forth their young ones, which have been conceived in autumn; and while the father ranges all the woods, allured by the ſweets of the ſpring, leaving to his little family the room he took up in his narrow cell, the mother ſuckles and nurſes them, to the number of two or three; then ſhe takes them out along with her in her excurſions, in ſearch of cray and other fiſh, and green bark, to recruit her own ſtrength, and to feed them, till the ſeaſon of labour returns.

Thus doth this republic live in ſocieties, which might diſtantly be compared to a large Carthuſian convent. But they have only the appearance of it; and if happineſs may be ſaid to dwell in theſe two ſorts of communities, it muſt be acknowledged that it is by very oppoſite means; ſince, in the former, happineſs conſiſts in following nature; while in the latter, it conſiſts in thwarting and deſtroying her. But man, in his folly, thinks he has found out the path of wiſdom. A number of perſons live together in a kind of ſociety, which precludes for ever all intercourſe between the two ſexes. The men and the women are placed in diſtinct cells, where, to make them happy, nothing more would be required than that they ſhould live together. There they conſume their beſt days, in ſtifling, or in execrating the propenſity that attracts them to each other, even through the priſons and grates of iron, which have been raiſed to prevent them from indulging every tender and innocent emotion of the heart. Can any thing be more injurious, as well as inhuman, than theſe gloomy and ferocious inſtitutions, which deprive man of his nature, and render him ſtupid and ſilly, under pretence of making him ſimilar to angels? God of Nature! It is at thy tribunal that we muſt appeal againſt all thoſe laws which injure the moſt beautiful among thy works, by condemning them to a ſtate of ſterility, contrary to thine own inſtitutions! For art thou not a truly plaſtic and fruitful Being; thou who hath created man from nothing, and taken him out of chaos; thou, who doth continually cauſe life to be renewed even from death itſelf? Who is it that beſt ſings forth

thy praiſes: the ſolitary being who diſturbs the ſilence of the night to celebrate thee among the tombs, or the happy people who glorify thee, in perpetuating the wonders of thy works?

Such is the ſyſtem of the republican, induſtrious, intelligent, beaver, ſkilled in architecture, provident and ſyſtematical in its plans of police and ſociety, whoſe gentle and inſtructive manners we have been deſcribing. Happy, if his coat did not tempt mercileſs and ſavage man to deſtroy his buildings and his race. It has frequently happened, when the Americans have demoliſhed the ſettlements of the beavers, that thoſe indefatigable animals have had the reſolution to rebuild them in the very ſame ſituation for ſeveral ſummers ſucceſſively. The winter is the time for attacking them. Experience then warns them of their danger. At the approach of the huntſmen, one of them ſtrikes a hard ſtroke with his tail upon the water: this ſignal ſpreads a general alarm throughout all the huts of the commonwealth, and every one tries to ſave himſelf under the ice. But it is very difficult to eſcape all the ſnares that are laid for this harmleſs tribe.

Sometimes the huntſmen lie in wait for them: but as theſe animals ſee and hear at a great diſtance, it ſeldom happens that they are ſhot by the water ſide; and they never venture ſo far upon land as to be caught by ſurpriſe. If the beaver be wounded before he takes to the water, he has always time enough to plunge in; and, if he dies afterwards, he is loſt, becauſe he ſinks, and never riſes again.

A more certain way of catching beavers is, by laying traps in the woods, where they eat the tender bark of young trees. Theſe traps are baited with freſh ſlips of wood: and as ſoon as the beavers touch them, a great weight falls, and cruſhes their loins. The man, who is concealed near the place, haſtens to it, ſeizes the animal, and having killed it, carries it off.

There are other methods more commonly and ſucceſsfully practiſed. The huts are ſometimes attacked, in order to drive out the inhabitants, who are watched at the edges of the holes that have been bored in the ice, where they cannot avoid coming to take in freſh air. The inſtant they appear, they are killed. At other times, the animal, driven out of his retreat, is entangled in the nets, ſpread

for ſome toiſes round his hut, the ice being broken for that purpoſe. If the whole colony is to be taken at once, inſtead of breaking down the ſluices to drown the inhabitants, a ſcheme that might, perhaps, be tried with effect in Holland, the cauſeway is opened, in order to drain off the water from the pool where the beavers live. When they are thus left dry, defenceleſs, and unable to eſcape, they may be caught at pleaſure, and deſtroyed at any time; but care is always taken to leave a ſufficient number of males and females to preſerve the breed; an act of generoſity which in reality proceeds only from avarice. The cruel foreſight of man only ſpares a few, in order to have the more to deſtroy. The beaver, whoſe plaintive cry ſeems to implore his clemency and pity, finds in the ſavage, rendered cruel by the Europeans, only an implacable enemy, whoſe enterprifes are undertaken, not ſo much to ſupply his own wants, as to furniſh ſuperfluities to another world.

If we compare the manners, the police, and the induſtry, of the beavers, with the wandering life of the ſavages of Canada, we ſhall be inclined to admit, making allowance for the ſuperiority of man's faculties above thoſe of animals, that the beaver was much further advanced in the arts of ſocial life than his purſuer, when the Europeans firſt brought their talents and improvements to North America.

The beaver, an older inhabitant of that world than man, and the quiet poſſeſſor of regions ſo well adapted to his ſpecies, had employed that tranquillity he had enjoyed for many ages, in the improvement of his faculties. In our hemiſphere, man has ſeized upon the moſt wholeſome and fertile regions, and has driven out or ſubdued all other animals. If the bee and the ant have preſerved their laws and government from the jealous and deſtructive dominion of tyrant man, it has been owing to the ſmallneſs of their ſize. It is thus we ſee ſome republics in Europe, without ſplendour or ſtrength, maintain themſelves by their very weakneſs, in the midſt of vaſt monarchies, which muſt ſooner or later ſwallow them up. But the ſocial quadrupeds, baniſhed into uninhabited climates, unfit for their increaſe, have been unconnected in all places, incapable of uniting into a community, or of improving their natural ſagacity; while man, who has reduced them to that precarious ſtate, exults in their degradation, and ſets a high value on that

ſuperior nature, and thoſe rational powers, which conſtitute a perpetual diſtinction between his ſpecies and all others.

Brutes, we are told, bring nothing to perfection: their operations, therefore, can only be mechanical, and do not imply any principle ſimilar to that which actuates man. Without examining in what perfection conſiſts; whether the moſt civilized being be in reality the moſt perfect; whether he does not loſe in the property of his perſon what he acquires in the property of things; or, whether what is added to his enjoyments is not ſo much ſubtracted from his duration: it muſt be acknowledged, that the beaver, which in Europe is a wandering, ſolitary, timorous, and ſtupid, animal, was in Canada acquainted with civil and domeſtic government, knew how to diſtinguiſh the proper ſeaſons for labour and reſt, was acquainted with ſome rules of architecture, and with the curious and learned art of conſtructing dikes; yet he had attained to this degree of improvement with feeble and imperfect tools. He can hardly ſee the work he performs with his tail. His teeth, which anſwer the purpoſes of a variety of tools, are circular, and confined by the lips. Man, on the contrary, with hands fit for every purpoſe, hath in this ſingle organ of the touch all the combined powers of ſtrength and dexterity. Is it not to this advantage of organization, that he owes the ſuperiority of his ſpecies above all others? It is not becauſe his eyes are turned toward heaven, as thoſe of all birds are, that he is the lord of the creation; it is becauſe he is provided with hands, capable of every exertion, and of adapting themſelves to every ſpecies of induſtry; hands, ever ready to ſtrike terror into his enemies, to defend or to aſſiſt him. His hand is his ſceptre, that arm which he lifts up to heaven, to find out, as it were, his origin; he, at the ſame time, marks his dominion with it over the earth, by deſtroying and ravaging the face of the globe. The ſureſt ſign of the population of mankind is the depopulation of other ſpecies. That of the beavers gradually decreaſes and diſappears in Canada, ſince the Europeans have been in queſt of their ſkins.

Their ſkins vary with the climate, both in colour and quality. In the ſame diſtrict, however, where the colonies of civilized beavers are found, there are ſome that are

wild and ſolitary. Theſe animals, who are ſaid to be expelled the ſociety for their ill behaviour, live in a ſubterraneous retreat, and have neither lodging nor ſtorehouſe. They are called earth beavers. Their coat is dirty, and the hair on their backs is worn off by rubbing againſt the cave which they dig for their habitation. The hole they make, and which commonly opens into ſome pond or ditch full of water, ſometimes extends above a hundred feet in length, and riſes gradually in a ſlope, to facilitate their eſcape from inundations when the waters ſwell. Some of theſe beavers are ſo wild as to diſclaim all communication with their natural element, and live entirely on land. In this they reſemble our otters in Europe. Theſe wild beavers have not ſuch ſleek hair as thoſe that live in ſocieties; their furs are anſwerable to their manners.

Beavers are found in America from the thirtieth to the ſixtieth degree of north latitude. There are but few towards the ſouth; but they increaſe in number, and grow darker, as we advance towards the north. In the country of the Illinois, they are yellow and ſtraw-coloured; higher up in the country, they are of a light cheſnut; to the north of Canada, of a dark cheſnut; and ſome are found that are quite black, and theſe are reckoned the fineſt. Yet, in this climate, the coldeſt that is inhabited by this ſpecies, ſome among the black tribes are quite white; others white, ſpeckled with grey, and ſometimes with ſandy ſpots on the rump; ſo much does nature delight in ſhewing the gradations of warmth and cold, and their various influences, not only on the figure, but on the very covering of animals. The value that is ſet upon them depends upon the colour of their ſkins. Some of them are ſo little in eſteem, that it is not thought worth while to kill them; but theſe are not commonly found.

In what places, and in what manner, the fur trade was carried on.

THE fur trade was the firſt which the Europeans carried on in Canada. It was begun by the French colony at Tadouſac, a port ſituated thirty leagues below Quebec. About the year 1640, the town of Les Trois Rivieres, at the diſtance of twenty-five leagues above the capital, became a ſecond mart. In proceſs of time, all the fur trade centered in

Montreal. The skins were brought thither on canoes made of the bark of trees in the month of June. The number of Indians who reforted to that place increafed, as the fame of the French fpread further. The account of the reception they had met with, the fight of the things they had received in exchange for their goods, all contributed to increafe this traffic. Whenever they returned with a freſh fupply of furs, they always brought a new nation along with them. Thus a kind of fair was opened, to which the feveral tribes of that vaſt continent reforted.

The Engliſh grew jealous of this branch of wealth; and the colony they had founded at New York foon found means to divert the ſtream of this great circulation. As ſoon as they had ſecured a ſubſiſtence, by beſtowing their firſt attention upon agriculture, they began to think of the fur trade, which was at firſt confined to the country of the Iroquois. The five nations of that name would not ſuffer their lands to be traverſed, in order to give an opportunity of treating with other ſavage nations, who were at conſtant enmity with them; nor would they allow thoſe nations to come upon their territories, to ſhare in competition with them the profits of the trade they had opened with the Europeans. But time having extinguiſhed, or rather ſuſpended, the national hoſtilities between the Indians, the Engliſh ſpread themſelves over the country, and the ſavages flocked to them from all quarters. This nation had infinite advantages to give them the preference to their rivals the French. Their voyages were carried on with greater facility, and conſequently they could afford to underſel them. They were the only manufacturers of the coarſe clothe that were moſt ſuitable to the ſavages. The beaver trade was free among them; whereas, among the French, it was, and ever has been, ſubject to the tyranny of monopoly. It was by this freedom, and theſe privileges, that they engroſſed moſt of the trade that rendered Montreal ſo famous.

At this time the French in Canada indulged themſelves more freely in a cuſtom, which at firſt had been confined within narrow bounds. Their inclination for frequenting the woods, which was that of the firſt coloniſts, had been wiſely reſtrained within the limits of the territory belonging to the colony. Permiſſion was, however, granted every

year to twenty-five perſons to go beyond theſe limits, in order to trade with the Indians. The ſuperiority which New York was acquiring, was the cauſe of increaſing the number of theſe permiſſions. They were a kind of patents, which the patentees might make uſe of either in perſon or by proxy, and continued a year or more. The produce of the ſale of theſe patents was aſſigned, by the governor of the colony, to the officers, or their widows and children, to hoſpitals and miſſionaries, to ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſome great action, or ſome uſeful undertaking; and ſometimes even to the creatures of the governor, who ſold the patents himſelf. The money he did not give away, or did not chooſe to keep, was put into the public coffers; but he was not accountable to any one for the management of it.

This cuſtom was attended with fatal conſequences. Many of theſe traders ſettled among the Indians, to defraud their partners, whoſe goods they had diſpoſed of. A greater number ſettled among the Engliſh, where the profits were greater. The immenſe lakes, frequently agitated with violent ſtorms; the caſcades, which render navigation ſo dangerous up the broadeſt rivers in the whole world; the weight of the canoes, the proviſions, and the bales of goods, which they were forced to carry upon their ſhoulders at the *carrying places*, where the rapidity or ſhalloweſs of the water obliged them to quit the rivers, and purſue their journey by land, proved the deſtruction of ſeveral perſons. Some periſhed in the ſnow and on the ice, by hunger, or by the ſword of the enemy. Thoſe who returned to the colony with a profit of ſix or ſeven hundred per cent, were not always on that account more uſeful members, as they gave themſelves up to the greateſt exceſſes, and by their example produced in others a diſlike to attention and induſtry. Their fortunes were diſſipated as ſuddenly as they were amaſſed, like thoſe moving mountains which a whirlwind raiſes, and deſtroys at once, on the ſandy plains of Africa. Moſt of theſe travelling traders, exhauſted with the exceſſive fatigues which their avarice prompted them to undergo, and the licentiouſneſs of a wandering and diſſolute life, dragged on a premature old age in indigence and infamy. The government took cogniz-

ance of theſe irregularities, and changed the manner of carrying on the fur trade.

The French had for a long time been inceſſantly employed in erecting a number of forts, which were thought neceſſary for the preſervation and aggrandizement of their ſettlements in North America. Thoſe built on the weſt and ſouth of the river St. Lawrence were large and ſtrong, and were intended to reſtrain the ambition of the Engliſh. Thoſe which were conſtructed in the ſeveral lakes in the moſt important poſitions, formed a chain which extended northward to the diſtance of a thouſand leagues from Quebec; but they were only miſerable palliſades, intended to keep the Indians in awe, to ſecure their alliance, and the produce of their chaſe. There was a garriſon in each, more or leſs numerous, according to the importance of the poſt, and of the enemies who threatened it. It was thought proper to intruſt the commandant of each of theſe forts, with the excluſive right of buying and ſelling in the whole diſtrict under his dominion. This privilege was purchaſed; but as it was always advantageous, and ſometimes was the means of acquiring a conſiderable fortune, it was only granted to officers that were moſt in favour. If any of theſe had not a ſtock ſufficient for the undertaking, he could eaſily prevail with ſome monied men to join with him. It was pretended that this ſyſtem, far from being detrimental to the ſervice, was a means of promoting it, as it obliged the military men to keep up more conſtant connections with the natives, to watch their motions, and to neglect nothing that could ſecure their friendſhip. It was not foreſeen, or at leaſt pretended not to be ſo, by any, that ſuch an arrangement muſt neceſſarily prevail over every principle, except that of intereſt, and would be a ſource of perpetual oppreſſion.

This tyranny, which ſoon became univerſal, was ſeverely felt at Frontenac, at Niagara, and at Toronto. The farmers of thoſe three forts, making an ill uſe of their excluſive privilege, ſet ſo low a value upon the merchandize that was brought them, and rated their own ſo high, that, by degrees, the Indians, inſtead of ſtopping there, reſorted in great numbers to Chouaguen, on the lake Ontario, where the Engliſh traded with them upon more advantageous terms. The French court, alarmed at the account

of theſe new connections, found means to weaken them, by taking the trade of theſe three poſts into their own hands, and treating the Indians ſtill better than they were treated by their rivals the Engliſh.

In conſequence of this ſtep, the refuſe of all thoſe furs that were not ſaleable became the ſole property of the king; and all the ſkins of thoſe beaſts that were killed in ſummer and autumn were readily given him; in a word, all the moſt ordinary furs, the thinneſt, and moſt eaſily ſpoiled, were reſerved for the king. All theſe damaged furs, bought without examination, were careleſsly depoſited in warehouſes, and eaten up by the moths. At the proper ſeaſon for ſending them to Quebec, they were put into boats, and left to the diſcretion of ſoldiers, paſſengers, and watermen, who, having had no concern in thoſe commodities, did not take the leaſt care to keep them dry. When they came into the hands of the managers of the colony, they were ſold for one half of the ſmall value they had. Thus the returns were rather leſs than the ſums advanced by the government in ſupport of this loſing trade.

But though this trade was of no conſequence to the king, it is ſtill a matter of doubt, if it were advantageous to the Indians, though gold and ſilver were not the dangerous medium of their traffic. They received, indeed, in exchange for their furs, ſaws, knives, hatchets, kettles, fiſh-hooks, needles, thread, ordinary linen, and coarſe woollen ſtuffs; all which may be conſidered as the means or pledges of intercourſe with them. But articles were likewiſe ſold them that would have proved prejudicial to them, even as a gift or a preſent; ſuch as guns, powder and ſhot, tobacco, and eſpecially brandy.

This liquor, the moſt fatal preſent the Old World ever made to the New, was no ſooner known to the ſavages, than they grew paſſionately fond of it. It was equally impoſſible for them to abſtain from it, or to uſe it with moderation. It was ſoon obſerved that it diſturbed their domeſtic peace, deprived them of their judgment, and made them furious; and that it occaſioned huſbands, wives, children, brothers, and ſiſters, to abuſe and quarrel with one another. In vain did ſome worthy Frenchmen expoſtulate with them, and endeavour to make them aſhamed of theſe exceſſes. It is you, anſwered they, who have taught

us to drink this liquor; and now we cannot do without it. If you refuse to give it us, we will apply to the Engliſh. You have done the miſchief, and it admits not of a remedy.

The court of France, upon receiving contradictory information with reſpect to the diſorders occaſioned by this pernicious trade, hath alternately prohibited, tolerated, and authoriſed it, according to the light in which it was repreſented to the miniſtry. Notwithſtanding all theſe various alterations, the intereſt of the merchants was nearly the ſame. The ſale of brandy was ſeldom decreaſed. It was, however, conſidered by judicious people as the principal cauſe of the diminution of the human race, and conſequently that of the ſkins of beaſts; a diminution which became every day more evident.

This decline of the fur trade was not yet ſo remarkable as it has been ſince, when the promotion of the duke of Anjou to the throne of Charles V ſpread an alarm over all Europe, and plunged it once more into the horrors of a general war. The conflagration extended beyond the ſeas, and was advancing even to Canada, had not the Iroquois put a ſtop to it. The Engliſh and French had long been contending to ſecure an alliance with that nation. Theſe marks of eſteem or fear had ſo far increaſed their natural pride, that they conſidered themſelves as the umpires of the two rival nations, and pretended that the conduct of both was to be regulated by their intereſt. As they were inclined to peace at that time, they haughtily declared that they would take up arms againſt either of the two nations, which ſhould commence hoſtilities againſt the other. This reſolution was favourable to the ſituation of the French colony, which was ill prepared for a war, and expected no aſſiſtance from the mother country. The people of New York, on the contrary, whoſe forces were already conſiderable, and received daily reinforcements, wiſhed to prevail upon the Iroquois to join with them. Their inſinuations, preſents, and negociations, were, however, ineffectual till 1709; at which period they ſucceeded in ſeducing four of the five nations; and their troops, which till then had remained inactive, marched out, ſupported by a great number of Indian warriors.

The army was confidently advancing towards the centre

of Canada with the greateſt probability of ſucceſs, when one of the chiefs of the Iroquois, who had never approved of their proceedings, plainly ſaid to his people, "what "will become of us, if we ſhould ſucceed in driving away "the French?" Theſe few words, uttered with a myſterious and anxious look, immediately recalled to the minds of all the people their former ſyſtem, which was to keep the balance even between the two foreign nations, in order to ſecure their own independence. They inſtantly reſolved to relinquiſh a deſign they had been too precipitately engaged in, contrary to the public intereſt; but as they thought it would be ſhameful openly to deſert their aſſociates, they imagined that ſecret treachery might ſerve the purpoſe of open defection. The lawleſs ſavages, the virtuous Spartans, the religious Hebrews, the wiſe and warlike Greeks and Romans; all people, whether civilized or not, have always made what is called the right of nations conſiſt either in craft or violence.

The army had halted on the banks of a little river to wait for the artillery and ammunition. The Iroquois, who ſpent their leiſure hours in hunting, flayed all the beaſts they caught, and threw their ſkins into the river, a little above the camp. The waters were ſoon infected. The Engliſh, who had not any ſuſpicion of ſuch an inſtance of treachery, continued unfortunately to drink of the waters that were thus rendered poiſonous; in conſequence of which, ſuch conſiderable numbers of them immediately died, that it became neceſſary to ſuſpend the military operations.

A ſtill more imminent danger threatened the French colony. A numerous fleet, deſtined againſt Quebec, and which had five or ſix thouſand troops on-board, entered the river St. Lawrence the following year, and would probably have ſucceeded, had it reached the place of its deſtination. But the raſhneſs of the admiral, joined to the violence of the elements, was the cauſe of its being loſt in the paſſage. Thus was Canada at once delivered from its fears both by ſea and land, and had the glory of maintaining itſelf, without ſuccours and without loſs, againſt the ſtrength and policy of the Engliſh.

France is compelled to cede part of the provinces that were united to Canada.

FRANCE, in the meantime, which for forty years had ſingly withſtood the combined efforts of all Europe, vanquiſhed or repulſed all the nations united againſt her, gained that point under Lewis XIV, which Charles V had not been able to do with the innumerable troops of his ſeveral kingdoms; France, which had at that period produced as many great men as would have rendered immortal a ſeries of twenty reigns, and under one in particular had ſignalized herſelf by as many great actions as might have raiſed the glory of twenty different nations, was then upon the point of crowning all her glorious ſucceſſes by placing a branch of the houſe of Bourbon on the throne of Spain. She had then fewer enemies, and a greater number of allies, than ſhe ever had in the moſt brilliant periods of her proſperity. Every thing concurred to promiſe her an eaſy ſucceſs, a ſpeedy and deciſive ſuperiority.

It was not fortune, but nature itſelf, that changed her deſtiny. Proud and flouriſhing under a king endowed with the graces and vigour of youth, after having riſen with him through the ſeveral degrees of glory and grandeur, ſhe ſank with him through all the periods of decay incident to human nature. The ſpirit of bigotry, which had been introduced into the court by an ambitious woman, determined the choice of miniſters, generals, and governors; and this choice was always blind and unfortunate. Kings, who, like other men, have recourſe to heaven when they are ready to quit the earth, ſeem in their old age to ſeek for a new ſet of flatterers, who ſooth them with hopes, at the time when all realities are diſappearing. It is at this time that hypocriſy, always ready to avail itſelf of the firſt and ſecond childhood of life, awakens in the mind of princes the ideas that had been early implanted in it; and, under pretence of guiding him to the only happineſs that remains for him, aſſumes an abſolute empire over his will. But as this laſt age, as well as the firſt, is a ſtate of weakneſs, a continual fluctuation muſt, therefore, prevail in the government. Cabals grow more violent and more powerful than ever; the expectations of intriguing men are raiſed, and merit is leſs rewarded; men of ſuperior talents are afraid to make themſelves known; ſolicitations of every kind

are multiplied; places are caſually beſtowed upon men all equally unfit to fill them, and yet preſumptuous enough to think they deſerve them; men who rate the eſtimation of themſelves by the contempt they entertain for others. The nation then loſes its ſtrength with its confidence, and every thing is carried on with the ſame ſpirit it was undertaken; that is, without deſign, vigour, or prudence.

To raiſe a country from a ſtate of barbariſm, to maintain it in the height of its glory, and to check the rapidity of its decline, are three objects very difficult to accompliſh; but the laſt is certainly the moſt arduous taſk of them all. A nation riſes out of barbariſm by ſudden efforts exerted at intervals; it ſupports itſelf at the ſummit of its proſperity by the powers it has acquired; it declines in conſequence of an univerſal languor, which has been brought on by almoſt imperceptible gradations. Barbarous nations require a long-continued reign; but ſhort reigns are beſt calculated to maintain a ſtate in its proſperity. But the long dotage of a declining monarch lays the foundation of evils for his ſucceſſor, which it is almoſt impoſſible to remedy.

Such was the latter part of the reign of Lewis XIV. After a ſeries of defeats and mortifications, he was ſtill happy that he could purchaſe peace by ſacrifices which made his humiliation evident. But he ſeemed to wiſh to conceal theſe ſacrifices from his people, by making them chiefly beyond ſea. It is eaſy to judge how much his pride muſt have ſuffered, in giving up to the Engliſh, Hudſons bay, Newfoundland, and Acadia, three poſſeſſions, which, together with Canada, formed that immenſe tract of country known by the glorious name of New France. We ſhall ſee in the next book by what means this power, accuſtomed to conqueſt, endeavoured to repair its loſſes.

BOOK XVI.

A NEW ORDER OF THINGS IS ESTABLISHED IN THE FRENCH COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA. RESULT OF THESE ARRANGEMENTS.

THE war carried on for the Spaniſh ſucceſſion had raiſed a ferment in the four quarters of the world, which for the two laſt centuries have felt the effects of that reſtleſs ſpirit with which Europe hath been agitated. All kingdoms were ſhaken by the conteſts excited on account of one, which, under the dominion of Charles V, had ſtricken terror into them all. The influence of a houſe whoſe ſovereignty extended over five or ſix ſtates, had raiſed the Spaniſh nation to a pitch of greatneſs which could not but be extremely flattering to her. At the ſame time another houſe, whoſe power was ſtill ſuperior, becauſe with a leſs extent of territory it had a greater degree of population, was ambitious of giving the law to that haughty nation. The names of Auſtria and Bourbon, which had been rivals for two hundred years, were now exerting their laſt efforts to acquire a ſuperiority, which ſhould no longer be conſidered as precarious or doubtful between them. The point of conteſt was, which ſhould have the greateſt number of crowns, to boaſt the poſſeſſion of. Europe, divided between the claims of the two houſes, which were not altogether groundleſs, was inclined to allow them to extend their branches, but would not permit that ſeveral crowns ſhould centre in one houſe, as they formerly did. Every power took up arms to diſperſe or divide a vaſt inheritance; and reſolved to diſmember it, rather than ſuffer it to be attached to one, which, with this additional weight of ſtrength, muſt infallibly deſtroy the balance of all the reſt. As the war was ſupported by each party with numerous forces and great ſkill, with warlike people and experienced generals, it continued a long time: it deſolated the countries it ſhould have ſuccoured, and even ruined nations that had no concern in it. Victory, which ſhould have deter-

mined the conteſt, was ſo variable, that it ſerved only to increaſe the general flame. The ſame troops that were ſucceſsful in one country were defeated in another. The people who conquered by ſea were routed on land. The news of the loſs of a fleet and the gaining of a battle arrived at the ſame time. Succeſs alternately favoured each party, and by this inconſtancy ſerved only to complete the mutual deſtruction of both. At length, when the blood and treaſure of the ſeveral ſtates were exhauſted, and after a ſeries of calamities and expences that had laſted twelve years, the people who had profited by their misfortunes, and were weakened by their conteſts, were anxious of recovering the loſſes they had ſuſtained. They endeavoured to find in the New World, the means of peopling and re-eſtabliſhing the Old. France firſt turned her views towards North America, to which ſhe was invited by the ſimilarity of ſoil and climate, and the iſland of Cape-Breton became immediately the object of her attention.

The French, to recover their former loſſes, people and fortify Cape-Breton.

THE Engliſh conſidered this poſſeſſion as an equivalent for all the French had loſt by the treaty of Utrecht; and not being entirely reconciled to them, ſtrongly oppoſed their being allowed to people and fortify it. They ſaw no other method of excluding them from the cod fiſhery, and making the entrance into Canada difficult for their ſhips. The moderation of Queen Anne, or, perhaps, the corruption of her miniſters, prevented France from being expoſed to this freſh mortification: and ſhe was authoriſed to make what alterations ſhe thought proper at Cape-Breton.

This iſland is ſituated at the entrance of the gulf of St. Lawrence, between the 45th and 47th degrees of north latitude. Newfoundland lies to the eaſt, on the ſame gulf, and is only 15 or 16 leagues diſtant from it; and to the weſt, Acadia is only ſeparated from the iſland by a ſtrait not more than three or four leagues over. Cape-Breton, thus ſituated between the territories ceded to its enemies, threatened their poſſeſſions, while it protected thoſe of France. The iſland meaſures about 36 leagues in length, and 22 in its greateſt breadth. It is ſurrounded with little ſharp pointed rocks, ſeparated from each other by the

waves, above which ſome of their tops are viſible. All its harbours open to the eaſt, turning towards the ſouth. On the other parts of the coaſt there are but a few anchoring-places for ſmall veſſels, in creeks, or between iſlets. Except in the hilly parts, the ſurface of the country has but little ſolidity, being everywhere covered with a light moſs and with water. The dampneſs of the ſoil is exhaled in fogs, without rendering the air unwholeſome. In other reſpects, the climate is very cold, which is owing either to the prodigious quantity of lakes, which cover above half the iſland, and remain frozen a long time, or to the number of foreſts, that totally intercept the rays of the ſun, the effect of which is beſides decreaſed by perpetual clouds.

Though ſome fiſhermen had long reſorted to Cape-Breton every ſummer, not more than twenty or thirty had ever fixed there. The French, who took poſſeſſion of it in Auguſt 1713, were properly the firſt inhabitants. They changed its name into that of Iſle Royale, and fixed upon Fort Dauphin for their principal ſettlement. This harbour was two leagues in circumference. The ſhips, which came to the very ſhore, were completely ſheltered from winds. Foreſts affording oak ſufficient to build and fortify a large city, were near at hand; the ground appeared leſs barren than in other parts; and the fiſhery was more plentiful. This harbour might have been made impregnable at a trifling expence; but the difficulty of approaching it (a circumſtance that had at firſt made a ſtronger impreſſion than the advantages reſulting from it), occaſioned it to be abandoned after great labour had been beſtowed upon it. The French then turned their views to Louiſbourg, the acceſs to which was eaſier, and convenience was thus preferred to ſecurity.

The harbour of Louiſbourg, ſituated on the eaſtern coaſt of the iſland, is at leaſt a league in depth, and above a quarter of a league broad in the narroweſt part. Its bottom is good, the ſoundings are uſually from ſix to ten fathom, and it is eaſy to tack about in it, either to ſail in or out even in bad weather. It includes a ſmall gulf, very commodious for refitting ſhips of all ſizes, which may even winter there, with proper precautions. The only inconvenience attending this excellent harbour is, that it is frozen up from November till May, and frequently continues

ſo till June. The entrance, which is naturally narrow, is alſo guarded by Goat iſland; the cannon of which playing upon a level with the ſurface of the water, would ſink ſhips of any ſize, that ſhould attempt to force the paſſage. Two batteries, one of thirty-ſix, the other of twelve twenty-four pounders, erected on the two oppoſite ſhores, would ſupport and croſs this formidable fire.

The town is built on a neck of land that runs into the ſea, and is about half a league in circuit. The ſtreets are broad and regular. Almoſt all the houſes are made of wood. Thoſe that are of ſtone were conſtructed at the expence of government, and are deſtined for the reception of the troops. A number of wharfs have been erected, that project a conſiderable way into the harbour, and are extremely convenient for loading and unloading the ſhips.

The fortification of Louiſbourg was only begun in 1720. This undertaking was executed upon very good plans, and is ſupplied with all the works that can render a place formidable. A ſpace of about a hundred toiſes only was left without ramparts on the ſide next the ſea, which was thought ſufficiently defended by its ſituation. It was cloſed only with a ſimple dike. The ſea was ſo ſhallow in this place, that it made a kind of narrow canal, inacceſſible, from the number of its reefs, to any ſhipping whatever. The fire from the ſide baſtions completely ſecured this ſpot from any attack.

The neceſſity of bringing ſtone from Europe, and other materials proper for theſe great works, ſometimes retarded their progreſs, but never made them be diſcontinued. Thirty millions [1,250,000l.] were expended upon them. This was not thought too great a ſum for the ſupport of the fiſheries, for ſecuring the communication between France and Canada, and for obtaining a ſecurity or retreat to ſhips in time of war coming from the ſouthern iſlands. Nature and ſound policy required that the riches of the ſouth ſhould be protected by the ſtrength of the north.

In the year 1714, the French fiſhermen, who till then had lived in Newfoundland, arrived in this iſland. It was expected that their number would ſoon have been increaſed by the Acadians, who were at liberty, by the treaties, to remove with all their effects, and even to diſpoſe of their eſtates. But theſe hopes were diſappointed; the Acadians

choſe rather to retain their poſſeſſions under the dominion of England, than to give them up for any precarious advantage they might derive from their attachment to France. Their place was ſupplied by ſome diſtreſſed adventurers from Europe, who came over from time to time to Cape-Breton, and the inhabitants of the colony gradually increaſed to the number of four thouſand. They were ſettled at Louiſbourg, Fort Dauphin, Port Toulouſe, Nericka, and on all the coaſts, where they found a proper beach for drying the cod.

The inhabitants never applied themſelves to agriculture, the ſoil being unfit for it. They have often attempted to ſow corn, but it ſeldom came to maturity; and when it did thrive ſo much as to be worth reaping, it had degenerated ſo conſiderably, that it was not fit for ſeed for the next harveſt. They have only continued to plant a few pot-herbs that are tolerably well taſted, but the ſeed of which muſt be renewed every year. The poorneſs and ſcarcity of paſtures has likewiſe prevented the increaſe of cattle. In a word, the ſoil of Cape-Breton ſeemed calculated to invite none but fiſhermen and ſoldiers.

Though the iſland was entirely covered with foreſts before it was inhabited, its wood has ſcarce ever been an object of trade. A great quantity, however, of ſoft wood was found there fit for firing, and ſome that might be uſed for timber; but the oak has always been very ſcarce, and the fir never yielded much reſin.

The peltry trade was a very inconſiderable object. It conſiſted only in the ſkins of a few lynxes, elks, muſk rats, wild cats, bears, otters, and foxes, both of a red and ſilver grey colour. Some of theſe were procured from a colony of Mickmac Indians, who had ſettled on the iſland with the French, and never could raiſe more than ſixty men able to bear arms. The reſt came from St. John, or the neighbouring continent.

Greater advantages might poſſibly have been derived from the coal mines which abound in the iſland. They lie in a horizontal direction, and being no more than ſix or eight feet below the ſurface, may be worked without digging deep, or draining off the waters. Notwithſtanding the prodigious demand for this coal from New England, from the year 1745, to the year 1749, theſe mines would, pro-

bably, have been forſaken, had not the ſhips which were ſent out to the French iſlands wanted ballaſt.

The whole induſtry of the colony has conſtantly been exerted in the cod fiſhery. The leſs wealthy inhabitants employed yearly two hundred boats in this fiſhery, and the richeſt, fifty or ſixty veſſels from thirty to fifty tons burthen. The ſmall craft always kept within four or five leagues of the coaſt, and returned at night with their fiſh, which, being immediately cured, was always in the utmoſt degree of perfection it was capable of. The larger ſmacks went to fiſh further from ſhore, kept their cargo for ſeveral days, and as the cod was apt to be too ſalt, it was leſs valuable. But this inconvenience was compenſated by the advantage it gave them of purſuing the fiſh, when the want of food compelled it to leave the iſland; and by the facility of carrying, during the autumn, the produce of their labours to the ſouthern iſlands, or even to France.

Beſide the fiſhermen ſettled on the iſland, others came every year from France to dry their fiſh, either in the habitations, in conſequence of an agreement made with the owners, or upon the beach, which was always reſerved for their uſe.

The mother country regularly ſent them ſhips laden with proviſions, liquors, wearing apparel, houſehold goods, and all things neceſſary for the inhabitants of the colony. The largeſt of theſe ſhips having no other concern but this trade, returned to Europe as ſoon as they had bartered their lading for cod. Thoſe from fifty to a hundred tons burthen, after having landed their little cargo, went a-fiſhing themſelves, and did not return till the ſeaſon was over.

The people of Cape-Breton did not ſend all their fiſh to Europe. They ſent part of it to the French ſouthern iſlands, on-board twenty or twenty-five ſhips, from ſeventy to a hundred and forty tons burthen. Beſide the cod, which made at leaſt half their cargo, they exported to the other colonies, timber, planks, thin oak boards, ſalted ſalmon and mackarel, train oil, and ſea coal. All theſe were paid for in ſugar and coffee, but chiefly in rum and molaſſes.

The iſland could not conſume all theſe commodities. Canada took off but a ſmall part of the overplus: it was chiefly bought by the people of New England, who gave

in exchange fruits, vegetables, wood, brick, and cattle. This trade of exchange was allowed; but a ſmuggling trade was added to it, conſiſting of flour, and a conſiderable quantity of ſalt fiſh.

Notwithſtanding this circulation, which was all carried on at Louiſbourg, moſt of the colonies were extremely poor. This was owing to the dependence their indigence had ſubjected them to on their firſt arrival. Unable to procure the neceſſary implements for the fiſhery, they had borrowed ſome at an exceſſive intereſt. Even thoſe who were not at firſt reduced to this neceſſity, were ſoon obliged to ſubmit to the hard terms of borrowing. The dearneſs of ſalt and proviſions, together with the ill ſucceſs of their fiſhery, ſoon compelled them to it; and they were inevitably ruined by being obliged to pay twenty or five-and-twenty per cent. a-year for every thing they borrowed.

Such is, at every inſtant, the relative ſituation of the indigent man, who ſolicits aſſiſtance, and of the opulent citizen, who grants it only on terms ſo hard, that they become, in a ſhort time, fatal to the borrower and to the creditor; to the borrower, becauſe the profit he reaps from the ſum borrowed cannot yield as much as it hath coſt him; and to the creditor, becauſe in the end he can no longer be paid by a debtor, whom his uſury ſoon renders inſolvent. It is a difficult matter to find out a remedy to this inconvenience; for the lender muſt finally have his ſecurities, and it is neceſſary that the intereſt of the ſum lent ſhould increaſe in proportion to the riſk of the ſecurity.

There is on both ſides, an error of calculation, which a little juſtice and benevolence on the part of the lender might remedy. The lender ſhould ſay to himſelf: The unhappy man who applies to me is ſkilful, laborious, and economical; I will aſſiſt him, in order to raiſe him from miſery. Let us ſee what his induſtry, turning out to the beſt advantage, will yield, and let us not lend to him; or, if we ſhould reſolve to lend to him, let the intereſt we require upon the ſum borrowed be leſs than the produce of his labour. If the intereſt and the produce were equal, the debtor would always remain in a ſtate of miſery; and the leaſt unexpected accident would bring on his bankruptcy, and the loſs of my capital. If, on the contrary, the pro-

duce ſhould exceed the intereſt, the fortune of the debtor will be annually increaſing, and conſequently the ſecurity of the capital I have intruſted to him will become greater. But, unfortunately, a rapacious ſpirit doth not argue in the ſame manner as a ſpirit of prudence and humanity. There are ſcarce any contracts and leaſes between the rich and the poor, to which thoſe principles are not applicable. If a man ſhould wiſh to be paid by his farmer, in good as well as bad ſeaſons, he muſt not rigorouſly exact from him all that his land can yield; otherwiſe, if his barns ſhould be ſet on fire, it is at the landlord's expence that they are conſumed. A deſire to proſper alone often makes proſperity eſcape from us. It is ſeldom that the profit of one man can be totally ſeparated from that of another. A man will always be the dupe of him who knowingly promiſes more than he can perform; while the latter will be the dupe of the former, ſhould he be ignorant of the event. He who unites prudence with honeſty, will neither deceive others nor be deceived himſelf.

Settlement of the French in the iſland of St. John.

All the French colonies of New France were not from their firſt eſtabliſhment deſtined to ſuch diſtreſs. The iſland of St. John, more favourably ſituated, has been more favourable to its inhabitants. It lies further up the gulf of St. Lawrence, is twenty-two leagues long, and not much above a league at its greateſt breadth. It bends in the form of a creſcent, both ends terminating in a ſharp point. Though the right of this iſland had never been diſputed with France, yet ſhe ſeemed to pay no regard to it till the peace of Utrecht. The loſs of Acadia and Newfoundland, drew their attention to this ſmall remaining ſpot, and the government began to inquire what uſe could be made of it.

It appeared that the winters were long there, the cold extreme, with abundance of ſnow, and prodigious quantities of inſects; but that theſe defects were compenſated by a healthy coaſt, a good ſea-port, and commodious harbours. The country was flat, enriched with fine paſtures, watered by an infinite number of rivulets and ſprings; the ſoil exceedingly diverſified, and fit for the culture of every kind of grain. There was plenty of game, and multitudes

of wild beaſts; amazing ſhoals of fiſh of all ſorts; and a greater number of ſavage inhabitants than were found on any other of the iſlands. This circumſtance alone was a proof how much it was ſuperior to the reſt.

The report that was ſpread of this in France gave riſe to a company in 1619, which formed the deſign both of clearing this fertile iſland, and of eſtabliſhing a great cod fiſhery there. Unfortunately, intereſt, which had brought the adventurers together, ſet them at variance again, before they began to execute the plan they had projected. St. John was again forgotten, when the Acadians began to remove to that iſland in 1749. In proceſs of time they increaſed to the number of three thouſand one hundred and fifty-four. As they were for the moſt part huſbandmen, and particularly accuſtomed to the breeding of cattle, the government thought proper to confine them to this employment; and the cod fiſhery was only allowed to be carried on by thoſe who ſettled at Tracadia and St. Peter.

Prohibitions and monopolies, while they are a reſtraint upon induſtry, are equally detrimental to the labours that are permitted, and to thoſe that are forbidden. Though the iſland of St. John does not afford a ſufficient extent of ſea-ſhore fit for drying the vaſt quantities of cod that come in ſholes to the coaſts, and though the fiſh is too large to be eaſily dried, yet it was incumbent upon a power whoſe fiſheries are not ſufficient for the conſumption of its own ſubjects, to encourage this kind of employment. If there were too few drying places for the quantity that could be caught, that which is called green cod might eaſily have been prepared, which alone would have made a valuable branch of commerce.

By confining the inhabitants of St. John to agriculture, they were deprived of all reſource in thoſe unfortunate ſeaſons that happen frequently on the iſland, when the crops are devoured by the field mice and graſshoppers. The exchanges which the mother country could and ought to have made with her colony were reduced to nothing. Laſtly, in attempting to favour agriculture, its progreſs was obſtructed, by laying the inhabitants under an impoſſibility of procuring the neceſſary articles for extending it.

Only one or two ſmall veſſels came annually to the iſland from Europe, and landed at Port la Joie, where they were

ſupplied with all they wanted from Louiſbourg, and paid for it in wheat, barley, oats, pulſe, oxen, and ſheep. A party of fifty men ſerved rather to regulate their police, than to defend them. Their commanding officer was dependent on Cape-Breton, which was itſelf under the controul of the governor of Canada. The command of this laſt officer extended to a great diſtance, over a vaſt continent, the richeſt part of which was Louiſiana.

Diſcovery of the Miſſiſſippi by the French.

THIS extenſive and beautiful country, which the Spaniards formerly comprehended under the name of Florida, was for a long time unknown to the inhabitants of Canada. It was not till 1660 that ſuch a country was ſuppoſed to exiſt. At this period they were told by the ſavages, that to the weſt of the colony there was a great river, which flowed neither to the north nor to the eaſt; and they concluded that it muſt therefore empty itſelf into the gulf of Mexico, if its courſe were ſouthward, or into the South ſea, if it were weſtward. The care of aſcertaining theſe two important facts was committed, in 1673, to Joliet, an inhabitant of Quebec, a very intelligent man, and to the jeſuit Marquette, whoſe mild and benevolent manners had ſecured to him the general affection of all the inhabitants.

Theſe two men, equally diſintereſted, equally active, and equally zealous for their country, immediately ſet out together from the lake Michigan, entered the river of the Foxes, which empties itſelf into that lake, and went up almoſt to the head of the river, notwithſtanding the currents, which render that navigation difficult. After ſome days march, they again embarked on the river Ouiſconſing, and, keeping always weſtward, came to the Miſſiſſippi, and ſailed down that river as far as the Akanſas, about the 33d degree of latitude. Their zeal would have carried them further, but they were in want of proviſions; they were in an unknown country, and they had only three or four men along with them: beſides, the object of their voyage was fulfilled, ſince they had diſcovered the river they had been in ſearch of, and were certain of its courſe. Theſe conſiderations determined them to return to Canada, acroſs the country of the Illinois, a numerous people, who were well

inclined to a friendly intercourſe with the French nation. Without concealing or exaggerating any particular, they communicated to the chief of the colony all the information they had procured.

Among the inhabitants of New France at that time, was a Norman, named La Salle, who was equally deſirous of making a great fortune, and of eſtabliſhing a brilliant reputation. This man had ſpent his younger years among the jeſuits, where he had contracted that activity, enthuſiaſm, and firmneſs, which thoſe fathers ſo well know how to inſtill into their diſciples, when they meet with young men of quick parts, with whom they are fond of recruiting their order. La Salle, who was a bold and enterpriſing man, fond of availing himſelf of every opportunity to diſtinguiſh himſelf, and anxious even to ſeek out ſuch opportunities, beheld in the diſcovery that had been made a vaſt career open to his ambition and to his genius. In concert with Frontenac, governor of Canada, he embarked for Europe, went to the court of Verſailles, was liſtened to, almoſt even with admiration, at a time when both the prince and the people were inſpired with a paſſion for great actions. He returned loaded with favours, and with orders to complete what had been ſo fortunately begun.

This was a great project: but in order to render the execution of it uſeful and permanent, it was neceſſary, by forts placed at different diſtances, to ſecure the poſſeſſion of the countries that ſeparated the Miſſiſſippi from the French ſettlements; and to gain the affection of the coloniſts, either wandering or ſedentary, that were contained in this vaſt ſpace. Theſe operations, ſlow in their nature, were ſtill retarded by unexpected incidents, by the malevolence of the Iroquois, and by the repeated mutinies of the ſoldiers, who were continually irritated by the deſpotiſm and reſtleſſneſs of their chief. Accordingly, La Salle, who had begun his preparatives in the month of September 1678, could not ſail till the ſecond of February 1682, on the great river, which was the end of his wiſhes and expectations. On the 9th of April he diſcovered the mouth of it; which, as it has been conjectured, was in the gulf of Mexico: and he returned to Quebec in the ſpring of the following year.

He immediately ſet out for France, to propoſe the diſ-

covery of the Miſſiſſippi by ſea, and the eſtabliſhment of a great colony upon the fertile ſhores watered by that river. He perſuaded the court by his eloquence or by his arguments; and four ſmall veſſels were given to him, with which he ſet ſail towards the gulf of Mexico. This ſmall fleet miſſed the place of their deſtination, by ſteering too far weſtward, and arrived, in the month of February 1685, in the bay of St. Bernard, diſtant a hundred leagues from the mouth of the river where it was intended to enter. The irreconcilable hatred which was conceived between La Salle and Beaujeu, commander of the ſhips, rendered this error infinitely more fatal than it ought to have been. Theſe two haughty men, impatient of ſeparating from each other, reſolved to land the whole of their embarkation upon the very coaſt where they had been conducted by chance. After this deſperate meaſure the ſhips went away, and there only remained upon theſe unknown coaſts one hundred and ſeventy men, moſt of them very corrupt, and all of them diſpleaſed, not without reaſon, with their ſituation. They had but few tools, a ſmall quantity of proviſions, and little ammunition. The remainder of what was to ſerve for the foundation of the new ſtate, was ſwallowed up by the waves, from the perfidy or wickedneſs of the ſea-officers intruſted with the landing of them.

The proud and unſhaken ſoul of La Salle was not, however, depreſſed by theſe misfortunes. Suſpecting that the rivers, which diſcharged themſelves in the bay where he had entered, might be ſome of the branches of the Miſſiſſippi, he ſpent ſeveral months in clearing up his doubts. Undeceived in theſe expectations, he neglected the object of his expedition. Inſtead of looking for guides among the ſavages, who would have directed him to the place of his deſtination, he choſe to penetrate into the inland countries, and to inform himſelf of the famous mines of St. Barbe. He was wholly taken up with this abſurd project, when he was maſſacred by ſome of his companions, who were incenſed at his haughtineſs, and the violence of his diſpoſition.

The death of La Salle ſoon occaſioned the reſt of his company to diſperſe. The villains who had murdered him fell by each others hand. Several incorporated with the natives. Many periſhed by hunger and fatigue. The

neighbouring Spaniards loaded ſome of theſe adventurers with chains, and they ended their days in the mines. The ſavages ſurpriſed the fort which had been erected, and ſacrificed every thing to their fury. Seven men only eſcaped theſe numerous diſaſters; and theſe, wandering as far as the Miſſiſſippi, came to Canada by the Illinois country. Theſe diſtreſſes ſoon made the French loſe ſight of a region which was ſtill but little known.

The attention of the miniſtry was again rouſed in 1697, by Yberville, a gentleman of Canada, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſome very bold and fortunate attempts at Hudſons bay, in Acadia, and Newfoundland. He was ſent out from Rochfort with two ſhips, and diſcovered the Miſſiſſippi in 1699. He ſailed up the river as far as the country of the Natchez; and after having aſcertained, by his own obſervation, every advantageous circumſtance that had been reported of it, he conſtructed, at the mouth of it, a ſmall fort, which did not continue more than four or five years, and proceeded to another ſpot to ſettle his colony.

The French ſettle in the country that is watered by the Miſſiſſippi, and call it Louſiana.

BETWEEN the river and Panſacola, a ſettlement newly erected by the Spaniards in Florida, is a coaſt of about forty leagues in extent, where no veſſel can land. The ſoil is ſandy, and the climate burning. Nothing grows there but a few ſcattered cedars and fir-trees. In this large tract there is a diſtrict called Biloxi. This ſituation, the moſt barren and moſt inconvenient upon the whole coaſt, was made choice of for the reſidence of the few men whom Yberville had brought thither, and who had been allured by the moſt ſanguine expectations.

Two years after a new colony arrived. The firſt was removed from the parched ſands on which it had been ſettled, and they were both united upon the banks of the Mobile. This river is navigable only for Indian boats, and the lands that are watered by it are not fertile. Theſe were ſufficient motives for giving up the idea of ſuch a ſettlement; which, however, was not done. It was determined that theſe diſadvantages would be compenſated by the facility of communication with the neighbouring

ſavages, with the Spaniards, with the French iſlands, and with Europe. The harbour which was to form theſe communications was not attached to the continent. It was placed by chance, either fortunately or otherwiſe, at ſome leagues diſtance from the coaſt, in a deſert, barren, and ſavage, iſland, which was decorated by the great name of Dauphin iſland.

A colony ſettled on ſuch bad foundations could not poſſibly proſper. The death of Yberville at ſea, who periſhed gloriouſly before the Havannah in 1706, in the ſervice of his country, put an end to the ſmall remaining hopes of the moſt ſanguine coloniſts. France was ſo deeply engaged in an unhappy war, that no aſſiſtance could be expected from her. The coloniſts thought themſelves totally forſaken; and thoſe who entertained ſome hopes of finding a ſettlement in another place, haſtened to go in ſearch of it. The colony was reduced to twenty-eight families, each more wretched than the other, when, to the aſtoniſhment of every one, Croſat petitioned for and obtained the excluſive trade of Louiſiana in 1712.

This was a famous merchant, who by his vaſt and prudent undertakings had raiſed an immenſe fortune. He had not given up the thoughts of increaſing his wealth, but he was deſirous that his new projects ſhould contribute to the proſperity of the monarchy. This noble ambition made him turn his views towards the Miſſiſſippi. The clearing of its fertile ſoil was not his aim. His intention was to open communications, both by land and ſea, with Old and New Mexico, to pour all kinds of merchandize into thoſe parts, and to draw from thence as much ore as he could. The place he aſked for appeared to him to be the natural and neceſſary mart for his vaſt operations; and all the ſteps taken by his agents were regulated upon this noble plan. But being undeceived by ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, he relinquiſhed his ſcheme, and in 1717 reſigned his charter to a company whoſe ſucceſs aſtoniſhed all nations.

Louiſiana becomes very famous in the time of Law's ſyſtem.

This company was formed by Law, that celebrated Scotchman, of whom no ſettled judgment could be formed at the time he appeared, but whoſe name now

ſtands between the crowd of mere adventurers and the ſhort liſt of great men. This daring genius had made it his buſineſs, from his infancy, to obſerve attentively the ſeveral powers of Europe, to examine their various ſprings, and to calculate the ſtrength of each. The ſtate into which the innordinate ambition of Louis XIV had plunged the kingdom of France, particularly attracted his attention, which was now fixed upon a heap of ruins. An empire, which, during the ſpace of forty years, had excited ſo much jealouſy and ſo much anxiety among all its neighbours, no longer diſplayed any degree of vigour or animation. The nation was exhauſted by the demands of the treaſury, and the treaſury by the enormity of their engagements. In vain had the public debts been reduced, in hopes of enhancing the value of thoſe that ſtill remained. This bankruptcy of government had but imperfectly produced that kind of good that was expected from it. The bills of government were ſtill infinitely below their original value.

It became neceſſary to open a mart for theſe bills, to prevent them from falling into total diſcredit. The mode of reimburſement was impracticable; for the intereſts for the ſums due abſorbed, almoſt entirely, the revenues of government. Law contrived another expedient. In the month of Auguſt 1717, he eſtabliſhed, under the title of the weſtern company, an aſſociation whoſe funds were to conſiſt in government bills. This paper was received for its whole value, although it loſt fifty per cent in the courſe of trade. Accordingly, the capital, which was only of 100,000,000 of livres [4,166,666l. 13s. 4d.] was completed in a few days. It is true, that, with theſe ſingular proceedings, it was not poſſible to found a powerful colony in Louiſiana, as the excluſive charter ſeemed to require: but the author of theſe novelties was ſupported by an expectation of another kind.

No ſooner had Ponce de Leon landed at Florida, in 1512, than a rumour was ſpread, throughout the Old and the New World, that this region was full of metals. Theſe had not been diſcovered, either by Francis de Cordova, or by Velaſquez de Ayllon, or by Philip de Narvaez, or by Ferdinand de Soto, although theſe enterpriſing men had ſearched for them with incredible fatigue during thirty years. Spain had at length renounced theſe hopes;

ſhe had not even left any trace of her enterpriſes; and notwithſtanding this, a vague report had remained among the minds of the people, that theſe countries concealed immenſe treaſures. No one pointed out the preciſe ſpot where theſe riches might lie; but this circumſtance itſelf tended to encourage the exaggeration of them. If at intervals the enthuſiaſm grew cooler, it was only to ſeize upon the minds of men more powerfully ſome time after. This general diſpoſition towards an eager credulity might become a wonderful inſtrument in the hands of ſkilful perſons.

In times of misfortune, the people are agitated by their hopes, in the ſame manner as they are by their fears, or by their rage. When they are actuated with rage, all the public places are in an inſtant filled with a multitude in commotion, which threatens and roars aloud. The citizen ſhuts himſelf up in his houſe; the magiſtrate trembles on his tribunal; the ſovereign is oppreſſed with anxiety in his palace. When night comes on, the tumult ceaſes, and tranquillity is reſtored. When the people are under the impreſſion of terror, univerſal conſternation diffuſes itſelf in an inſtant from one city to another, and plunges the whole nation into a ſtate of deſpondency. When the people are elated with hopes, the phantom of happineſs preſents itſelf not leſs rapidly on all ſides. It raiſes the ſpirits of all men, and the noiſy tranſports of joy ſucceed to the gloomy ſilence of misfortune. On one day every thing is loſt, on the other all is ſaved.

Of all the paſſions that are kindled in the heart of man, there is none which is ſo violent in its intoxication as the paſſion for gold. We are all acquainted with the country where the moſt beautiful women are to be found, and yet we are not tempted to viſit it. Sedentary ambition exerts itſelf in a narrow compaſs. The rage of conqueſt is the malady of a ſingle man, who draws the multitude after him. But let us ſuppoſe all the people of the earth to be equally civilized, and the thirſt of gold will diſplace the inhabitants of one and of the other hemiſphere. Setting out from the two extremities of the diameter of the equator, they will croſs each other in their way from one pole to the other.

Law, to whom this great ſpring of action was well known, eaſily perſuaded the French, who were moſt of them ruined, that the mines of Louiſiana, which had ſo long been ſpoken of, were at length diſcovered; and that they were even far richer than they were generally ſuppoſed to be. To give the greater weight to this falſe report, which had already gained too much credit, a number of miners were ſent over to work theſe mines, which were imagined to be ſo valuable, with a body of troops ſufficient to defend them.

It is inconceivable what a ſudden impreſſion this ſtratagem made upon a nation naturally fond of novelty. Every man exerted himſelf to acquire the right of partaking of this ſource of wealth, which was conſidered as inexhauſtible. The Miſſiſſippi became the centre of all men's wiſhes, hopes, and ſpeculations. It was not long before ſome wealthy and powerful men, moſt of whom were thought to be perſons of underſtanding, not ſatisfied with ſharing the general profit of the monopoly, became deſirous of obtaining a private property in a region which paſſed for one of the beſt countries in the world. Cultivators were wanted for the clearing of theſe domains, and were abundantly ſupplied by France, Switzerland, and Germany. Theſe men, after having worked three years without ſalary, for the perſons who had been at the expence of conveying them to the ſpot, were to become citizens, and be put in poſſeſſion of lands, in order to clear them on their own account.

During the courſe of this frenzy, or in the years 1718 and 1719, all theſe unfortunate people were promiſcuouſly crowded together in ſhips. They were not landed at Dauphin iſland, the harbour of which had lately been choked up by ſands; nor were they ſet on ſhore at Mobile, which had loſt every thing ſince it had loſt its port: but it was at Biloxi, that dreadful ſpot, where all the natives, as well as foreigners, who had been ſeduced, were placed. There they all periſhed by thouſands, with want and vexation. In order to preſerve them, it was only neceſſary to have conveyed them up the Miſſiſſippi, and landed them immediately upon the country they were to clear; but ſuch was the unſkilfulneſs or neglect of the managers of the enterpriſe, that they never thought of

conſtructing the boats neceſſary for ſo ſimple a manœuvre. Even after they found that the ſhips coming from Europe could moſt of them ſail up the river, Biloxi ſtill continued to be the grave of thoſe unhappy and numerous victims who had fallen a ſacrifice to a political impoſture. The head-quarters were not removed to New Orleans till five years after, that is, till hardly any were left of thoſe unfortunate people who had been weak enough to quit their native country upon ſuch uncertain proſpects.

But at this period, when it was too late, the charm was diſſolved, and the mines vaniſhed. Nothing remained but the ſhame of having been miſled by chimerical notions. Louiſiana ſhared the fate of thoſe extraordinary men who have been too highly extolled, and are afterwards puniſhed for this unmerited fame, by being degraded below their real worth. Men ſtrive, by the exceſs of cenſure, to perſuade others that they have not given into the common error; for how can it be ſuppoſed that they would violently perſiſt in ſpeaking ill of themſelves? This inchanted country was now holden in execretion. Its very name became a reproach. The Miſſiſſippi was the terror of free men. No recruits were to be found to ſend thither, but ſuch as were taken from priſons and houſes of ill fame. It became the receptacle of the loweſt and moſt profligate perſons in the kingdom.

What could be expected from a ſettlement compoſed of ſuch perſons? Vicious men will neither people a country, nor labour, nor continue long in any place. Many of thoſe miſerable perſons who had been tranſported into theſe ſavage climates, went into the Engliſh or Spaniſh ſettlements, to exhibit the diſagreeable view of their diſtreſs and miſery. Others ſoon periſhed from the infection they had brought along with them. The greater number wandered in the woods, till hunger and wearineſs put an end to their exiſtence. Nothing was yet begun in the colony, though twenty-five millions of livres [1,041,666l. 13s. 4d.] had been ſunk there. The managers of the company that advanced theſe vaſt ſums fooliſhly pretended, that in the capital of France they could lay the plan of ſuch undertakings as were fit for America. Paris, unacquainted with its own provinces, which it deſpiſes and exhauſts, would have ſubmitted every thing to the operations of theſe haſty and

frivolous calculators. From the office of the company, they pretended to regulate and direct all the inhabitants of Louiſiana, and to impoſe or withhold ſuch reſtraints as were judged favourable or unfavourable to the monopoly. Had they granted ſome trifling encouragements to citizens of character, who might have been invited to ſettle in the colony, by ſecuring to them that liberty which every man covets, that property which every man has a right to expect from his own labour, and that protection which is due from every ſociety to its members; ſuch encouragements as theſe, given to proprietors well informed of their real intereſt and property, directed by the circumſtances of the place, would have been productive of far greater and more laſting effects; and would have eſtabliſhed more extenſive, ſolid, and profitable, ſettlements, than all thoſe an excluſive charter could ever have formed with all its treaſures, diſpenſed and managed by agents who could neither have the knowledge requiſite to conduct ſo many various operations, nor even be influenced by any immediate intereſt in their ſucceſs.

The miniſtry, however, thought it conducive to the welfare of the ſtate, to leave the concerns of Louiſiana in the hands of the company; which were under a neceſſity of exerting all their intereſt to obtain permiſſion to alienate that part of their privilege. They were even obliged to purchaſe this favour in 1731, by paying down the ſum of 1,450,000 livres [60,416l. 13s. 4d.] For there are ſome ſtates, where the right of being involved in ruin, and that of being preſerved from it, or that of acquiring wealth, are equally ſold; becauſe good or evil, whether public or private, may prove an object of finance.

During all the time that an excluſive charter had kept Louiſiana in ſhackles, it had required, according to the diſtances, fifty, ſixty, fourſcore, and a hundred, per cent. profit, upon all the merchandize which it uſed to ſend there; and had alſo regulated, by a rate ſtill more oppreſſive, the price of the commodities which the colony delivered to it. How was it poſſible that an infant ſettlement could make any progreſs under the yoke of a tyranny ſo atrocious? Accordingly, the diſcouragement became univerſal. To reſtore to the minds of men their energy, government was deſirous that a poſſeſſion, which was be-

come a truly national one, ſhould experience a happier fate. With this view they decreed, that every article which the trade of France ſhould convey to this country, and every thing it ſhould bring back from thence, ſhould be exempted for ten years from all duties of export and import. Let us ſee to what degree of proſperity an arrangement ſo prudent raiſed this celebrated region.

Extent, ſoil, and climate, of Louiſiana.

Louisiana is a vaſt country, bounded on the north by the ſea; on the eaſt by Florida and Carolina; on the weſt by New Mexico; and on the north by Canada, and by unknown lands, which are ſuppoſed to extend as far as Hudſons bay. It is impoſſible to aſcertain preciſely the exact length of it; but its mean breadth is two hundred leagues.

Throughout ſuch an extent, the climate varies conſiderably. Fogs are too frequent in Lower Louiſiana, in ſpring and autumn; the winters are rainy, and at diſtant intervals attended with a ſlight froſt: moſt of the ſummer days are ſpoilt by violent ſtorms. The heats are not ſo exceſſive in any part of this extenſive territory as might be expected from its latitude. This phenomenon, which ſeems extraordinary to a common obſerver, may be accounted for by natural philoſophers, from the thick foreſts, which prevent the rays of the ſun from heating the ground; the numberleſs rivers, which keep it conſtantly damp; and the winds, which blow from the north over a long extent of land.

Though diſeaſes are not very common in Upper Louiſiana, they are ſtill more unfrequent in the Lower. This is, however, nothing more than a ſlip of land of two or three leagues in extent, overrun with inſects, with ſtagnated waters, and with vegetable ſubſtances, which putrify in a damp and warm atmoſphere, the conſtant principle of the diſſolution of bodies. In this climate, where all dead bodies generally undergo a rapid putrefaction, men enjoy a more ſettled ſtate of health, than in thoſe regions which to all appearance are more healthy. Except the tetanos, which carries off half the negro children before they are twelve days old, and a great number of white children, there is ſcarce any diſeaſe known in that country, except

ſome hyſterical affections, and obſtructions, which may even be conſidered as a natural conſequence of the kind of life which is led there. From whence can the ſalubrity of the air proceed? Perhaps it is owing to the frequent thunders which are heard upon this narrow ſoil. Perhaps to the winds which almoſt conſtantly prevail there. Perhaps to the fires which it is neceſſary to kindle in order to deſtroy the numerous reeds which impede the cultures.

This ſoil muſt have appeared extremely fertile, before any trials had been made of it, ſince it abounded with wild fruits. It furniſhed a liberal proviſion for a great number of birds and fallow-deer. The meadows, formed by nature alone, were covered with roebucks and biſons. The trees were remarkable for their bulk and height, and woods for dying were only wanting, for thoſe grow merely between the tropics. Theſe favourable omens have been ſince confirmed by fortunate experiments.

The ſource of the river which divides this immenſe country from north to ſouth, hath not yet been diſcovered. The boldeſt travellers have ſcarce gone higher than two hundred leagues above the fall of St. Anthony, which ſtops the courſe of it by a caſcade of ſome height, about the 46th degree of latitude. From thence to the ſea, that is, throughout the ſpace of 700 leagues, the navigation is not interrupted. The Miſſiſſippi, after being enlarged by the river of the Illinois, the Miſſouri, the Ohio, and a great number of ſmall rivers, maintains an uninterrupted courſe, till it falls into the ocean. All circumſtances concur to prove, that the bed of this river is conſiderably extended, and that its bottom is almoſt recent ground, ſince not a ſingle ſtone is to be found in it. The ſea throws up here a prodigious quantity of mud, leaves of reeds, boughs and ſtumps of trees, that the Miſſiſſippi is continually waſhing down; which different materials being driven backward and forward, and being collected together, form themſelves into a ſolid maſs, continually tending to the prolongation of this vaſt continent.

The river hath not any regular periods of increaſe or decreaſe; but, in general, its waters are higher from the month of January to that of June, than they are through the reſt of the year. The bed of the river being very deep at the upper part, it ſeldom overflows on the eaſt

ſide, till it comes within ſixty leagues of the ſea, nor on the weſt, till within a hundred leagues; that is to ſay, in the low lands, which we imagine to be recent. Theſe muddy grounds, like all others that have not yet acquired a due conſiſtence, produce a prodigious quantity of large reeds, in which all extraneous bodies waſhed down the river are entangled. Theſe bodies all joined together, and added to the ſlime that fills up the interſtices, in proceſs of time form a maſs, that raiſes the banks higher than the adjacent ground, which forms on each ſide an inclined plane. Hence it happens, that the waters having once got out of their natural courſe, never get into it again, and are therefore obliged to run on to the ocean, or to form themſelves into ſmall lakes.

When the breadth and depth of the Miſſiſſippi are alone conſidered, we are induced to think that the navigation is eaſy. It is, on the contrary, very tedious, even in coming down; becauſe it would be dangerous by night in dark weather, and becauſe inſtead of the light canoes made of bark, which are ſo convenient in the reſt of America, it is neceſſary to employ larger boats, which are conſequently heavier, and not ſo eaſily managed. Without theſe precautions, the boats would be in continual danger of ſtriking againſt the boughs or roots of trees, which are dragged along in great quantities by the ſtream, and are frequently fixed under water. The difficulties are greater ſtill in going up the river.

At ſome diſtance from land, before we enter the Miſſiſſippi, care muſt be taken to keep clear of the floating wood that is come down from Louiſiana. The coaſt is ſo flat, that it can hardly be ſeen at the diſtance of two leagues, and it is not eaſy to get up to it. The river empties itſelf into the ſea by a great number of openings. Theſe openings are conſtantly varying, and moſt of them have but little depth of water. When the ſhips have happily ſurmounted all theſe obſtacles, they may ſail without any difficulty ten or twelve leagues, over a country ſunk under water, where the eye perceives nothing but reeds, and a few ſhrubs. Then, upon each ſhore, they meet with thick foreſts, which they paſs by in two or three days, unleſs calms, which are rather frequent in ſummer, ſhould retard their progreſs. The reſt of the navigation, upon a ſtream

ſo rapid, and ſo full of currents, is performed in boats that go with oars and ſails, and are forced to paſs on from one point of land to another; and though they ſet out by break of day, are thought to have made a conſiderable progreſs, if they have advanced five or ſix leagues by the cloſe of the evening. The Europeans engaged in this navigation, are attended by ſome Indian huntſmen, who follow by land, and ſupply them with ſubſiſtence during the three months and a half that are employed in going from one extremity of the colony to the other.

Theſe difficulties of ſituation are the greateſt which the French have had to ſurmount in forming ſettlements at Louiſiana.

The Engliſh, ſettled in the Eaſt, have been always ſo aſſiduouſly employed in their plantations, that they have never thought of any thing but of extending and improving them. The ſpirit of conqueſt or of plunder hath not diverted them from their labours. Had they been inclined to jealouſy, the French did not behave ſo as to excite it.

The Spaniards, unfortunately for themſelves, were more turbulent in the Weſt. The deſire of removing an active neighbour from New Mexico induced them, in 1720, to adopt the ſcheme of forming a conſiderable colony far beyond the boundaries within which they had hitherto confined themſelves. The numerous caravans that were to compoſe this colony ſet out from Santa Fé. They directed their march towards the Ozages, whom they wiſhed to induce to take up arms againſt their eternal enemies, the Miſſourys, whoſe territory they had reſolved to occupy. The Spaniards miſſed their way, and came directly to that nation, the ruin of which they were meditating; and miſtaking theſe Indians for the Ozages, communicated their deſign without any reſerve.

The chief of the Miſſourys, who became acquainted, by this ſingular miſtake, with the danger that threatened him and his people, diſſembled his reſentment. He told the Spaniards, he would gladly concur in promoting the ſucceſs of their undertaking, and only deſired eight-and-forty hours to aſſemble his warriors. When they were armed, to the number of two thouſand, they fell upon the Spaniards, whom they had amuſed with ſports, and ſlew them

in their ſleep. All were maſſacred, without diſtinction of age or ſex. The chaplain, who alone eſcaped the ſlaughter, owed his preſervation to the ſingularity of his dreſs. This cataſtrophe having ſecured the tranquillity of Louiſiana, on the ſide where it was moſt threatened, the colony could only be moleſted by the natives; but theſe, although more numerous at that time than they are in our days, were ſtill not very formidable.

Character of the ſavages of Louiſiana, and particularly the Natchez.

THESE ſavages were divided into ſeveral nations, all of them very feeble, and all at enmity with each other, though ſeparated by immenſe deſerts. Some of them had a fixed abode. Their dwellings were only made of leaves interwoven with each other, and faſtened to a number of ſtakes. Thoſe who did not go quite naked, were only covered with the ſkins of fallow-deer. They lived upon the produce of hunting and fiſhing, upon maize, and ſome fruits. Their cuſtoms were nearly the ſame as thoſe of the ſavages of Canada, but they had not the ſame degree of ſtrength and courage, of quickneſs and ſagacity; and their character was leſs marked.

Among theſe nations, the Natchez were the moſt remarkable. They paid obedience to one man, who ſtyled himſelf GREAT SUN; becauſe he bore upon his breaſt the image of that luminary, from which he claimed his deſcent. The whole buſineſs of government, war, and religion, depended upon him. All the world could not, perhaps, have produced a ſovereign more abſolute. His wife enjoyed the ſame authority and the ſame honours. When any of theſe enſlaved ſavages had the misfortune to diſpleaſe either of theſe maſters, they uſed to ſay to their guards, "rid "me of that dog," and were inſtantly obeyed. Every thing of the beſt that was afforded by hunting, fiſhing, or culture, the ſavages were compelled to bring to them. On the demiſe of either the huſband or the wife, it was neceſſary that many of their ſubjects ſhould alſo die, that they might attend and ſerve them in the next world. The religion of the Natchez was limited to the adoration of the ſun; but this belief was accompanied with many ceremonies, and conſequently attended with miſchievous

effects. There was, however, but one temple for the whole nation; it was once ſet on flames by the fire which is perpetually, or at leaſt habitually, kept in it; and this event occaſioned a general conſternation. Many fruitleſs efforts were made to ſtop the progreſs of the flames. Some mothers threw their children into them, and at length the fire was extinguiſhed. The next day theſe barbarous heroines were extolled in a diſcourſe delivered by the deſpotic pontiff. It is thus that his authority was maintained. It is aſtoniſhing how ſo poor and ſo ſavage a people could be ſo cruelly enſlaved. But ſuperſtition accounts for all the unreaſonable actions of men. That alone could deprive a nation of its liberty, which had little elſe to loſe.

Moſt of the accounts affirm, upon the uncertain faith of ſome tradition, that the Natchez occupied for a long time the eaſtern coaſt of the Miſſiſſippi, from the river Yberville to the Ohio; that is to ſay, a ſpace of four hundred leagues. In that caſe they muſt have formed the moſt flouriſhing nation of North America. It may be ſuſpected, that the yoke under which they were kept by an oppreſſive and arbitrary government diſguſted them of their native country. They muſt have diſperſed themſelves: and this opinion ſeems to be in ſome meaſure confirmed by the circumſtance of our finding various traces of their worſhip at great diſtances in theſe regions. It is certain, that, when the French appeared in Louiſiana, this people conſiſted of no more than two thouſand warriors, and formed only a few towns, ſituated at a conſiderable diſtance from each other, but all of them near the Miſſiſſippi.

This want of population did not prevent the country of the Natchez from being excellent. The climate is wholeſome and temperate; the ſoil ſuſceptible of rich and varied cultures; the territory ſufficiently elevated to preclude all fears from the inundations of the river. This country is generally open, extenſive, well-watered, and covered with pleaſant hillocs, agreeable meadows, and delicious woods, as far as the Apalachian mountains. Accordingly, the firſt Frenchmen who came there judged, that, notwithſtanding its diſtance from the ſea, this would become in time the centre of the colony. This opinion drew numbers of them to this ſpot. They were favourably received by

the ſavages, and aſſiſted in the ſettlement of the plantations which they wanted to eſtabliſh. Exchanges that were reciprocally uſeful laid the foundation of a friendſhip, apparently ſincere, between the two nations. It might have become permanent, had not the ties of it been daily weakened by the avidity of the Europeans. Theſe foreigners had at firſt demanded the productions of the country only as honeſt merchants, but afterwards imperiouſly dictated the conditions of the trade, and at length ſeized upon what they were tired of paying for, even at a low price. Their audacity increaſed to ſuch a degree, as to expel the natives from the fields they had tilled themſelves.

This tyranny was atrocious. In vain did the Natchez endeavour to put a ſtop to it by the moſt humiliating ſupplications. Driven to deſpair, they endeavoured to engage in their reſentment all the eaſtern nations, whoſe diſpoſitions they were acquainted with; and towards the latter end of the year 1729, they ſucceeded in forming an almoſt univerſal league, the purport of which was, to exterminate in one day the whole race of their oppreſſors. This negociation was carried on with ſuch ſucceſs, as not to be diſcovered either by the ſavages who were friends to the French, or by the French themſelves. Nothing but ſome caſually fortunate event could prevent the ſucceſs of the plot; and this event took place.

According to the accounts of the times, the Natchez ſent to the conſpiring nations, who were not better acquainted with the art of writing than themſelves, ſome parcels, conſiſting of an equal number of bits of wood. That there might be no miſtake made reſpecting the time when the common hatred was to break out, it was agreed that one of theſe bits of wood ſhould be burnt every day in each town, and the laſt was to be the ſignal for the bloody ſcene that was to be exhibited. It happened that the wife or the mother of the great chief was informed of the plot by a ſon ſhe had by a Frenchman. She ſeveral times warned the officer of that nation, who commanded in the neighbourhood, of the circumſtance. The indifference, or the contempt, that was ſhewn for her advice, did not ſtifle in her heart the affection ſhe had for theſe foreigners. Her rank intitled her to enter the temple of the ſun at any hour ſhe choſe. This prerogative put it in her power to carry

off ſucceſſively the bits of wood which had been depoſited in it; and ſhe determined to do it, in order to diſturb the calculations of the conſpirators, at the hazard of haſtening, ſince it was neceſſary, the deſtruction of the Frenchmen ſhe was fond of, in order to inſure the ſafety of the reſt who were unknown to her. Every thing happened as ſhe expected. At the ſignal agreed upon, the Natchez fell unawares upon the enemy, not doubting but all their allies were at the ſame time engaged in the ſame buſineſs; but as there had been no treaſon anywhere elſe, every thing remained quiet, as it muſt neceſſarily have done.

This account appears very fabulous; but it is very certain, that the period agreed upon between the members of the confederacy to deliver Louiſiana from a foreign yoke was foreſtalled by the Natchez. They were, perhaps, not able to contain their hatred any longer. They were, perhaps, ſeduced by meeting with unexpected facility in the execution of their deſign. Perhaps they were properly or improperly apprehenſive that their intentions began to be ſuſpected. It is a certain fact, however, that of two hundred and twenty-two French, who were then in this ſettlement, two hundred were maſſacred; that the women who were pregnant, or who had young children, did not ſhare a more fortunate deſtiny; and that the reſt, who remained priſoners, were expoſed to the brutality of the murderers of their ſons and of their huſbands.

The whole colony thought themſelves loſt upon the firſt news of this event. They had nothing to oppoſe to a number of enemies threatening them on all ſides, except a few half-rotten palliſades, and a few vagabonds badly armed and ill diſciplined. Perrier, in whom the authority was veſted, had not a better opinion of the ſituation of affairs. However, he ſhewed a firm countenance; and this boldneſs ſerved him inſtead of forces. The ſavages thought him not only able to defend himſelf, but alſo to attack them. In order to diſpel the ſuſpicions that might have been conceived againſt them, or in hopes of obtaining a pardon, ſeveral of theſe nations joined their warriors to his, in order to aſſiſt in his revenge.

Other troops were wanting, beſide ill-affected allies or ſiers, forced into the ſervice, to have inſured ſucceſs. This militia marched towards the country of the Natchez,

with a degree of ſlowneſs which afforded no good omen; and they attacked the forts with that indifference from which no good effect could be expected. Fortunately, the beſieged offered to releaſe all the priſoners they had in their poſſeſſion, if the troops would withdraw; and this propoſal was acceded to with extreme joy.

But Perrier, having received ſome reinforcements from Europe, re-commenced hoſtilities, in the beginning of the year 1731. The proſpect of this new danger ſpread diſſentions among the Natchez, and this miſunderſtanding brought on the ruin of the whole nation. A few feeble corps of theſe ſavages were put to the ſword, and a great number were ſent ſlaves to St. Domingo. Thoſe who eſcaped ſlavery or death took refuge among the Chickaſaws.

Theſe were the moſt intrepid people of thoſe regions: their intimate connections with the Engliſh were well known, and their favourite virtue was hoſpitality. All theſe reaſons prevented the French at firſt from requiring them to deliver up the Natchez, to whom they had afforded refuge. But Bienville, who ſucceeded Perrier, thought himſelf authoriſed to demand the ceſſion of them. The Chickaſaws, with courage and indignation, refuſed to comply. Both ſides took up arms in 1736. The French were defeated in the open field, and driven back with loſs under the palliſades of their enemy. They tried their fortune again four years after, encouraged by ſome ſuccours they had received from Canada. They were upon the point of being defeated a ſecond time, when ſome fortunate incident brought on a reconciliation with theſe ſavages. Since that period, the tranquillity of Louiſiana hath never been diſturbed. Let us now ſee to what degree of proſperity this long peace hath raiſed the colony.

Settlements formed by the French in Louiſiana.

The coaſts of Louiſiana, which are all ſituated upon the gulf of Mexico, are in general flat, and covered with a barren ſand. They are neither inhabited, nor capable of being ſo. No forts have ever been erected upon them.

Though the French muſt have been deſirous of drawing near to Mexico, they have formed no ſettlement upon the

coaſt which lies to the weſt of the Miſſiſſippi. They were undoubtedly apprehenſive of offending the Spaniards, who would not patiently have ſuffered them in this neighbourhood.

To the eaſt of the river is ſituated Fort Mobile, on the banks of a river which derives its ſource from the Apalachian mountains. It ſerved to maintain the Chactaws, the Alimabous, and other leſs numerous colonies in alliance with the French, and to ſecure their fur trade. The Spaniards of Penſacola drew ſome proviſions and merchandize from this ſettlement.

There are a great number of outlets at the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, which are always varying. Many of them are entirely dry at times. Some can only admit canoes or ſloops. That towards the eaſt, the only one frequented at preſent by ſhips, is very tortuous, affords only a very narrow paſſage, and hath no more than eleven or twelve feet of water in the higheſt tides. The ſmall fort called La Baliſe, which formerly defended the mouth of the river, is no longer of any uſe, ſince its canal hath been filled up, and ſince the ſhips ſail out of the reach of its cannon.

New Orleans, ſituated at the diſtance of thirty leagues from the ſea, is the firſt ſettlement that preſents itſelf. This city, which was intended for a ſtaple to carry on all the intercourſe between the mother country and the colony, was built upon the eaſtern border of the river, round a creſcent, which is acceſſible to all ſhips, and where they ride in perfect ſafety. The foundations of it were laid in 1717; but it was not till 1722 that it had made any progreſs, and became the capital of Louiſiana. Its population never conſiſted of more than ſixteen hundred inhabitants, partly free men, and partly ſlaves. The huts which originally covered it have been ſucceſſively transformed into convenient houſes, but built with wood upon bricks, becauſe the ſoil was not ſufficiently firm to ſupport heavier buildings.

The city is placed on an iſland, which is ſixty leagues in length, and hath a moderate breadth. This iſland, the greateſt part of which is not ſuſceptible of culture, is formed by the ocean, by the river Miſſiſſippi, by the lake Pontchartrain, and by the Manchac, or the river of Yberville, a canal which the Miſſiſſippi hath digged for itſelf, in order to pour into it the ſuperfluous part of its waters, in the ſeaſon

when they moſt abound. There may be upon this territory about a hundred plantations, upon which are found four or five hundred white men, and four thouſand negroes, principally employed in the culture of indigo. A few enterpriſing proprietors have endeavoured to grow ſugar there; but ſome trifling froſts, which are fatal to this rich production, have rendered this attempt ineffectual. The plantations are ſeldom contiguous to each other, but are moſtly ſeparated by ſtagnating waters and moraſſes, eſpecially in the interior part of the iſland.

Oppoſite to New Orleans, and on the weſtern ſhore of the Miſſiſſippi, were ſettled, in 1722, three hundred Germans, the unfortunate remains of ſeveral thouſand who had been removed from their country. Their number hath trebled ſince that period, which is not a very diſtant one, becauſe they have always been the moſt laborious men of the colony. Aſſiſted by about two thouſand ſlaves, they cultivate maze for their food, and rice and indigo for exportation. They formerly attended to the culture of cotton; but they have abandoned it ſince it has been found too ſhort for the European manufactures.

A little higher up, on the ſame coaſt, eight hundred Acadians were ſituated, who had arrived from Louiſiana immediately after the laſt peace. Their labours have been hitherto confined to the breeding of cattle, and to the cultivation of articles of primary neceſſity. If their means ſhould increaſe, they will attend to the production of vendible commodities.

All thoſe productions which enrich the lower part of the colony, terminate at the ſettlement of the Pointe Coupée, formed at the diſtance of forty-five leagues from New Orleans. It furniſhes, moreover, the greateſt part of the tobacco that is conſumed in the country, and a great deal of wood for foreign trade. Theſe labours employ five or ſix hundred white men, and twelve hundred negroes.

Throughout the whole extent of the lands which are cultivated in theſe ſeveral ſettlements belonging to Lower Louiſiana, there runs a cauſeway deſtined to ſecure it from the inundations of the river. Large and deep ditches, which ſurround every field, afford an iſſue to the waters which would either have penetrated or riſen above the dike. This ſoil is entirely muddy; and when it is to be cultivat-

ed, the large reeds which cover it are cut at the bottom. As ſoon as they are dry they are ſet on fire. Then, however lightly the earth be turned up, it becomes fertile in all productions requiring a damp ſoil. Corn does not thrive upon it; for the blades grow, but contain no ſeed. Moſt of the fruit trees ſucceed no better: they grow up very faſt, and are in bloſſom twice in a year; but the fruit, which is attacked by the worms, dries, and generally falls off before it is ripe. The peach, the orange, and the fig-tree, are the only ones, the fertility of which cannot be too much extolled.

The nature of the country is very different in Upper Louiſiana. To the eaſt of the Miſſiſſippi, this diſtrict begins a little above the river of Yberville. Its territory, which hath been anciently formed, is ſufficiently raiſed to be free from inundations, and hath only a proper degree of moiſture; it therefore requires leſs care, and promiſes a a greater variety of productions. This was the opinion of the firſt Frenchmen who appeared in theſe countries. They ſettled in the diſtrict of the Natchez, and after having attempted ſeveral cultures, which were all ſucceſsful, confined themſelves to that of tobacco, which ſoon acquired in the mother country the reputation it deſerved. Government expected ſoon to receive from this ſettlement a ſufficient quantity for the ſupply of the whole monarchy, when the tyranny of its agents occaſioned its ruin. Since this fatal period, this inexhauſtible ſoil hath remained uncultivated, till Great Britain, having acquired the property of it by treaties, ſhall have conveyed there a population ſufficient to fertilize it.

A little higher up, but on the weſtern ſhore, the Red river empties itſelf into the Miſſiſſippi. It is at thirty leagues diſtance from the mouth of it, and upon the territory of the Natchitoches, that the French on their arrival in Louiſiana erected a few palliſades. The object of this poſt was to draw from New Mexico the ſheep and horned cattle, which a riſing colony is always in want of; and it was alſo to open a ſmuggling trade with the Spaniſh fort of the Adages, which is only ſeven leagues diſtant. It is long ſince the multiplication of the cattle in thoſe fields, to which it was neceſſary to accuſtom them, hath put an end to the firſt of theſe connections; and it was ſtill earlier un-

derſtood, that the latter, with one of the pooreſt ſettlements in the world, could never have any real utility. Accordingly, the territory of the Natchitoches was ſoon forſaken by thoſe whom the hopes of making a great fortune had drawn there. Upon this diſtrict there are only now to be ſeen the deſcendants of a few ſoldiers, who have ſettled there at the end of the time they were engaged for in the ſervice. Their number does not exceed two hundred. They live upon maize, or upon the vegetables which they cultivate, and ſell the ſuperfluous part of their productions to their indolent neighbours. The money they receive from this feeble garriſon enables them to pay for the liquors and the clothing which they are obliged to get from elſewhere.

The ſettlement formed among the Akanſas is ſtill more wretched. It would infallibly have become very flouriſhing, if the troops, the arms, the bondſmen, the proviſions, and the merchandize, which Law had ſent there on his own private account, had not been firſt confiſcated after the diſgrace of that enterpriſing man. Since that time ſome few Canadians only have ſettled upon this excellent ſoil, who have taken to themſelves wives among the women of the country. From theſe connections hath ſoon ariſen an almoſt ſavage race, conſiſting only of a few families, living ſeparate from each other, and ſcarce attending to any other employment except that of the chaſe.

To go from the Akanſas to the Illinois country, it is neceſſary to travel three hundred leagues; for the nations in America are not contiguous to each other, as they are in Europe, and are therefore the more independent. They have no chiefs connected among themſelves, alternately to ſeize upon, or to ſacrifice them, and to render them ſo unhappy, that they ſhall have nothing to gain or to loſe by a change of country and of maſter. The Illinois, ſituated in the moſt northern part of Louiſiana, were continually beaten, and always upon the point of being deſtroyed, by the Iroquois, or by other warlike nations. They ſtood in need of a defender; and the French took that part upon themſelves, by occupying a portion of their territory, at the mouth of the river, and upon the more pleaſant and more fruitful banks of the Miſſiſippi. Under this protection, the Illinois have avoided the deſtiny of moſt of the

nations in the New World, of whom there ſcarce remains any remembrance. Nevertheleſs, their number hath diminiſhed, in proportion as that of their protectors hath increaſed. Theſe foreigners have gradually formed a population of two thouſand three hundred and fourſcore free perſons, and of eight hundred ſlaves, diſtributed in ſix villages, five of which are ſituated upon the eaſtern border of the river.

Unfortunately, moſt of theſe people have entertained a paſſion for running about the woods to buy up the peltries, or have indulged themſelves with remaining in their warehouſes, waiting till the ſavages brought them the produce of their chaſe. They would have worked more uſefully for themſelves, for the colony, and for France, had they digged the excellent ſoil upon which chance had placed them; and had they required of it the ſeveral kinds of corn produced in the Old World, which Louiſiana hath been obliged to draw from Europe, or from North America. But how much hath the ſettlement formed by the French in the country of the Illinois, and how much have their other ſettlements, fallen ſhort of this proſperity?

Never did the colony, in its greateſt ſplendour, reckon more than ſeven thouſand negroes, excluſive of the troops, the number of which varied from three hundred to two thouſand men. This feeble population was ſcattered along the borders of the Miſſiſſippi, throughout a ſpace of five hundred leagues; and was defended by a few ſmall forts, ſituated an immenſe diſtance from each other. Nevertheleſs, theſe men were not deſcended from that ſcum of Europe which France had, as it were, vomited forth into the New World at the time of Law's ſyſtem. All thoſe miſerable men had periſhed without leaving any iſſue. The coloniſts were robuſt men, arrived from Canada, or diſbanded ſoldiers, who had ſenſibly preferred the labours of agriculture to a life of idleneſs, in which prejudice and pride had confirmed them. Every inhabitant received from government a ſuitable piece of ground, with ſeed to ſow it, a gun, an ax, a mattock, a cow and a calf, a cock and ſix hens, with a plentiful ſupply of wholeſome proviſions for three years. Some officers, and ſome rich men, had formed conſiderable plantations, which occupied eight thouſand ſlaves.

This colony ſent to France fourſcore thouſand weight of indigo, ſome hides, and much peltry. It ſent to the iſlands tallow, ſmoked meats, pulſe, rice, maize, pitch, tar, and timber for ſhips and for houſe-building. Theſe ſeveral articles collected, might be worth 2,000,000 of livres [83,333l. 6s. 8d.] This ſum was paid for in European merchandize, and in the productions of the Eaſt-Indies. The colony even received more than it gave, and derived this ſingular advantage from the expences of ſovereignty.

The public expences were always too conſiderable at Louiſiana. They often exceeded, even in times of full peace, the whole produce of the ſettlement. Perhaps the agents of government would have been more circumſpect had the buſineſs been tranſacted with money. The unfortunate facility of paying every thing with bills, which were not to be diſcharged till their arrival in the mother country, rendered them generally laviſh, and ſome of them were even diſhoneſt. For their own private emoluments, they ordered the conſtruction of forts, which were of no kind of uſe, and which coſt twenty times more than they ought to have done. They multiplied, without reaſon, as without meaſure, the annual preſents which the court of Verſailles were accuſtomed to ſend to the ſavage tribes.

The exports and imports of Louiſiana were not carried on upon ſhips belonging to itſelf; for it had never thought of having one ſingle veſſel. Sometimes it received ſome feeble embarkations from the ports of France, and ſometimes large boats from the ſugar iſlands. But moſt frequently, ſhips diſpatched from the mother country to St. Domingo, left part of their cargo in this rich ſettlement; and after having ſold the reſt of it in the Miſſiſſippi, uſed to load themſelves, on their return to it, with every thing that might be wanted at St. Domingo, or which might be ſuitable to the mother country.

France might have derived great advantages from Louiſiana.

Louisiana, which nature ſeemed to invite to a great degree of proſperity, would undoubtedly have attained to it, if government had had the prudence to attend to the wiſhes of the French proteſtants, who had taken refuge in the colonies ſettled by the Engliſh to the north of the New World.

Under the moſt brilliant reign, and at the moſt fortunate period of that reign, three hundred thouſand calviniſt families were enjoying peaceably in France the rights of men and of citizens; rights which had been confirmed to them by the famous edict, which had quieted ſo many troubles, and put an end to ſo many calamities, the edict of Nantes. Louis XIV, the terror of his neighbours, and the idol of his ſubjects, had neither enemies to fear without, nor rebels within, his provinces. The proteſtants, quiet from motives of duty as well as intereſt, thought of nothing but ſerving the ſtate, and of contributing towards its power and its glory. They were placed at the head of ſeveral new manufactures; and being diſperſed in the maritime countries, a navy, which was formidable in its infancy, derived its principal ſtrength from them. Where an eaſy and decent competency prevails, the fruit of labour and of induſtry, there we generally meet with good morals. The proteſtants, in particular, were diſtinguiſhed by them, becauſe they were the leaſt numerous and moſt laborious of the ſubjects, and becauſe they had to juſtify their faith by their virtues.

Every thing, I ſay again, was quiet in the interior part of the kingdom; but ſacerdotal pride and phariſaical ambition were not ſo. The clergy of France, Rome, and the jeſuits, were continually importuning the throne with their ſcandalous remonſtrances. It was repreſented, that Frenchmen who did not humble themſelves before a confeſſor; who ſaw nothing but bread in the conſecrated hoſt; who never ſaid maſs; who never brought any offering to the altar; who married their couſins without purchaſing diſpenſations; it was repreſented, that ſuch Frenchmen could not love their country nor their ſovereign. It was ſaid, that they were in fact nothing more than traitors and hypocrites; who, in order to ſhake off the yoke of obedience, waited only for a favourable circumſtance, which ſooner or later they would find ſome opportunity to excite.

When impoſture ſhall awaken the apprehenſions of the ſovereign, with reſpect to the fidelity of his ſubjects, it is difficult to prevent its being liſtened to with attention. Nevertheleſs, we ſhall venture to aſk, whether Louis XIV was excuſable, when he ſeemed not to know how much

his proteſtant ſubjects were uſeful to him? We ſhall venture to aſk, if he could ſeriouſly believe that they would become more ſo when they were turned catholics; and if the toleration of a maſter, ſo powerful and ſo abſolute, could ever bring on any of thoſe diſagreeable conſequences with which he was inceſſantly threatened? The proteſtants had been ſeditious, it is true; but they had been perſecuted, and had been made, alternately with catholics, the ſport of the turbulent ambition of the great. The idea of ſo much blood ſpilt in the preceding reigns, ſhould it not have made him apprehenſive of ſhedding more? Paſt events ſhould have taught him, that a king hath no power over religious opinions; that the conſciences of men are not to be compelled; that fortune, life, and dignities, are nothing in compariſon of eternal puniſhments; and that if it be right in a country, where only one form of worſhip is obſerved, to forbid acceſs to any foreign ſuperſtition, yet power will never exclude that which is already eſtabliſhed there; Louis XIV experienced this. You monarchs, who are intruſted with the care of governing men, make it your buſineſs to be acquainted with them. Study their paſſions, in order that you may govern them by their paſſions. Know that a prince who ſays to his ſubjects, your religion diſpleaſes me, it is my pleaſure that you ſhould renounce it, has nothing to do but to raiſe the gallows, and to prepare the wheel, and let his executioners hold themſelves in readineſs.

Louis XIV, intruſted with the execution of his project, which was impious in religion and abſurd in policy, two miniſters as impetuous as himſelf; two men who hated the proteſtants, becauſe Colbert had employed them. One of theſe was Le Tellier, a harſh and fanatic man; the other Louvois, a cruel and ſanguinary miniſter; he who gave it as his opinion, that all Holland ſhould be ſunk under water, and who afterwards cauſed the Palatinate to be reduced to aſhes. Immediately, on the ſlighteſt pretence, the churches of the calviniſts are ſhut up; they themſelves are excluded from every office in the public revenue; they cannot be admitted into any corporation; their clergy are ſubjected to taxation; their mayors are deprived of nobility; the legacies left to their conſiſtories are applied to hoſpitals; the officers of the king's houſehold, the ſecretaries

of the king, the notaries, the counſellors, and the attornies, have orders to quit their functions, or to renounce their faith. Theſe acts of violence are ſucceeded by abſurdity. A declaration of council, in the year 1681, authoriſes children of ſeven years of age to renounce their faith. Children of ſeven years of age who have a faith, who have a civil will, and who enter into public engagements! Thus it is that the ſovereign and the prieſt can equally make children of men, and men of children!

But it became neceſſary to withdraw children from the authority of their parents; for which purpoſe force was employed. Soldiers were appointed to carry them off from their paternal dwelling, and took poſſeſſion of it in their ſtead. The cry of deſolation reſounded from one end of the kingdom to the other. The people began to think of removing at a diſtance from the oppreſſor. Whole families deſerted; their houſes were converted into guard-rooms. The powers that were the rivals of France offered them an aſylum. Amſterdam was enlarged with a multitude of houſes prepared for their reception. The provinces were depopulated. The government beheld theſe emigrations, and were diſturbed. The puniſhment of the gallies was decreed againſt the fugitive artiſan and the ſailor. All theſe paſſages were cloſed. Nothing was forgotten that could poſſibly enhance the merit of the ſacrifice; and more than five hundred thouſand uſeful citizens made their eſcape, at the riſk of receiving in their way the crown of martyrdom.

It was in 1685, in the midſt of theſe horrors, that the fatal revocation of the edict of Nantes appeared. The clergy who were ſteady in their opinions were ordered to quit the kingdom within a fortnight, on pain of death. Children were torn from the arms of their fathers and mothers. And theſe horrible acts were authoriſed by a ſet of diliberate men; by an aſſembly of grave perſons; by a ſupreme court! They were fathers, and yet they did not ſhudder while they gave orders for the infringement of the moſt ſacred laws of nature!

In the meanwhile, the minds of men were inflamed. The proteſtants aſſembled; they were attacked; they defended themſelves, and dragoons were ſent againſt them. And now the hamlets, the villages, the fields, the high-

ways, and the gates of the cities, were planted with ſcaffolds, and drenched with blood. The intendants of the provinces vied with each other in cruelty. Some miniſters venturing to preach and to write, were ſeized upon, and put to death. The priſons were ſoon incapable of holding the number of the perſecuted; and it was the will of a ſingle man that could make ſo many perſons unfortunate! At his word, all the civil and moral ties were broken! At his word, a thouſand citizens, revered for their virtues, their dignities, and their talents, were devoted to death and to infamy! O ye people! ye herd of weak and mean men!

And thou, blind tyrant! becauſe thy prieſts have not the art of perſuaſion to make their arguments victorious; becauſe they cannot efface from the minds of thoſe innocent men the profound traces which education had engraved in them; becauſe theſe men will neither be baſe, nor hypocritical, nor infamous; becauſe they chooſe rather to obey their God than to obey thee, muſt thou deprive them of their property, put chains upon them, burn them, hang them up, and drag their carcaſes upon a hurdle? When thou withdraweſt thy protection from them, becauſe they do not think as thou doſt, why ſhould they not withdraw their obedience from thee, becauſe thou thinkeſt differently from them? It is thou who doſt break the compact.

The churches of the proteſtants were deſtroyed. Their miniſters were either put to death, or they fled. But this did not put a ſtop to the deſertion of the perſecuted perſons. What ſteps were therefore to be taken to prevent it? It was imagined that flight would be leſs frequent when the gates were laid open. This proved to be a miſtake; and after the paſſages had been opened, they were ſhut again a ſecond time with as little ſucceſs as at firſt.

The dreadful wound which fanaticiſm then inflicted on the nation hath continued bleeding down to our days, and will ſtill remain open. Armies deſtroyed are recruited; provinces that are invaded are recovered: but the emigration of uſeful men, who convey to foreign nations their induſtry and their talents, and raiſe them at once to a level with the nation which they have quitted, is an evil which cannot be remedied. The citizen of the world, whoſe comprehenſive mind embraces the intereſt of all the human race,

will perhaps be comforted on this occaſion; but the true patriot will never ceaſe to deplore the event.

This patriot is the man who at this inſtant addreſſes himſelf to kings in the following terms: "Rulers of the world, "when a man, under the name of prieſt, ſhall contrive "to connect his intereſts with the pretended intereſts of a "God; when his ſuſpicious hatred can induce him to make "uſe of the name of that God, whom he will not fail to "repreſent as jealous and cruel, in order to execite perſe-"cution againſt the man who ſhall not think as he does; "or, to ſpeak with greater preciſion, who ſhall not think "as the prieſt would have him think; woe to you and "to your ſubjects, if you ſhould liſten to ſuch inſinua-"tions!"

In the meanwhile, the French proteſtants, ſcattered over the ſeveral parts of the globe, were everywhere turning their ſorrowful looks towards their former country. Thoſe who had found an aſylum in the northern part of America, deſpairing ever to be able to reviſit their former habitations, wiſhed at leaſt to be connected with the amiable nation from which tyranny had ſeparated them. They offered to convey their induſtry and their capitals to Louiſiana, provided they might be allowed to follow their mode of worſhip there. Unfortunately for the ſtate, the ſuperſtition of Louis XIV, and the weakneſs of the regent, occaſioned theſe propoſals to be rejected.

Nevertheleſs, what analogy is there between the tenets of religion and the ſpeculations of the miniſtry? Not more, it ſhould ſeem, than there is between the preſcriptions of the phyſician and the doctrine he profeſſes. Hath the patient ever thought of aſking his phyſician whether he went to church or to meeting? whether he believed in God or not? Rulers of the earth, he who cauſes the ſun indiſcriminately to ſhine on orthodox or on heretic regions; he who ſuffers his fertile dew to fall equally on their fields; doth he not declare to you, with ſufficient evidence and energy, how much it ought to be indifferent to you by what men they are peopled, and by what hands they are cultivated? It is yours to protect them; it is yours to animate their labours; it is yours to encourage their induſtry and their virtues. It is the part of God to ſearch into their hearts, and to judge them. Doth he render the mothers of the

calviniſts barren? Or doth he ſtifle the child in the womb of the lutheran women when they are pregnant? How therefore, do ye dare to condemn to exile, to death, or to miſery worſe than theſe, that being, whom the Sovereign of all Sovereigns, your Father, and theirs, permits to live and to proſper? Becauſe maſs hath not been performed, or veſpers ſung at Louiſiana, have the productions of the ſoil been leſs plentiful, leſs valuable, and leſs uſeful? Had the country been peopled with orthodox perſons, and that ſome reaſon of ſtate had induced you attempt the conqueſt of it, you would have put them all to the ſword without heſitation; and yet you ſcruple to intruſt the culture of them to heretics. With what ſtrange madneſs are you affected? A conformity of worſhip puts no ſtop to your ferociouſneſs, and a difference of worſhip excites it. Is it then conſiſtent with the dignity of the chief of the ſtate, to regulate his conduct by the fanatic ſpirit and narrow views of the director of a religious ſeminary? Is it conſiſtent with his wiſdom, to admit among the number of his ſubjects none but the ſlaves of his prieſts? I ſhould not be in the leaſt ſurpriſed, after having determined an old puſillanimous monarch humbled by a long ſeries of calamities, to complete them all by the revocation of a ſalutary edict, that the ſuperſtitious and hypocritical men who ſurrounded him ſhould have led him on, from one circumſtance to another, to reject the advantageous propoſals of the religious people in the New World; but that conſiderations, which may be called monaſtic, ſhould have had the ſame influence over the enlightened prince who held the reins of the empire after the old monarch, and who certainly never was accuſed of bigotry, is a circumſtance which I cannot explain.

Independently of this fatal ſyſtem, Louiſiana would not probably have languiſhed for ſo long a time, had it not been for an original error adopted, of granting lands indiſcriminately to every perſon who applied for them, and in the manner in which he deſired them. Immenſe deſerts would not then have ſeparated the coloniſts from each other. Being brought near to a common centre, they would have aſſiſted each other, and would have enjoyed all the advantages of a well regulated ſociety. As population increaſed, the lands would have been cleared to a greater extent. Inſtead of a few hordes of ſavages, we ſhould

have ſeen a riſing colony, which might in time have become a powerful nation, and procured infinite advantages to France.

The French, who annually purchaſe from eighteen to twenty millions weight of tobacco, might have encouraged the cultivation of it in Louiſiana, and might have drawn from that ſettlement a ſufficient quantity of it for their own conſumption. Such were the hopes that government entertained, when they ordered all the tobacco plants in France to be rooted up. Convinced that the lands in their provinces were adapted to more important and richer cultures, they thought it would be advantageous both to the mother country and the colony, to ſecure to this infant ſettlement a market for that production which required the leaſt capital, the leaſt time and experience. When Law, the projector of this undertaking, fell into diſcredit, this ſcheme, the advantages of which were ſo evident, was forgotten, and ſhared the ſame fate as thoſe which were merely the offspring of a diſordered imagination. The blindneſs of the miniſtry was kept up by the private intereſts of the agents of the treaſury; and this is not one of the leaſt miſchiefs the finance has done to the monarchy.

The wealth which tobacco would have procured to the colony, would have made it ſenſible of the advantages that might be derived from the ſpacious and beautiful meadows with which that country abounds. They would ſoon have been covered with numerous herds, whoſe hides would have prevented the mother country from purchaſing any from other nations, and whoſe fleſh, when prepared and ſalted, would have been diſpoſed of in the iſlands, inſtead of foreign beef. Horſes and mules, multiplying in the ſame proportion, would have freed the French colonies from the dependence they have always had upon the Engliſh and Spaniards for this neceſſary article.

As ſoon as the coloniſts had begun to exert themſelves, they would have proceeded from one branch of induſtry to another. They could not poſſibly avoid building ſhips; for the country was covered with wood fit for the hull, and the fir-trees, that grew in great plenty along the coaſt would have afforded maſts and tar. There was no want of oak for the planks, and if there had been, it might have been ſupplied by cypreſs, which is leſs apt to ſplit, bend,

or break, and the additional thickneſs of which might have compenſated for its want of ſtrength and hardneſs. They might eaſily have grown hemp for the ſails and rigging. Nothing, perhaps, need have been imported but iron; and it is even more than probable that there are iron mines in Louiſiana.

The foreſts being thus cleared without any expence, and even with advantage, would have left the ſoil fit for the culture of corn and indigo. The production of ſilk might even have been undertaken with ſucceſs, when once the colony had been ſufficiently populous to attend to an employment, which the mildneſs of the climate, the number of mulberry trees, and ſome ſucceſsful trials, had conſtantly invited them to. In a word, what might not have been expected from a country, where the air is temperate, and the ſoil even, freſh, and fertile; and which, properly ſpeaking, had never been inhabited, but traverſed careleſsly by vagabonds equally deſtitute of ſkill and conduct?

Had Louiſiana attained to that degree of perfection it was capable of, its harbour would ſoon have been made more eaſy of acceſs. This might perhaps have been effected, by ſtopping up all the ſmall paſſes with the floating trees waſhed down by the waters; and by collecting the whole force of the ſtream in one ſingle channel. If the ſoftneſs of the ſoil, the rapidity of the river, or the ebbing of the ſea, had oppoſed inſurmountable obſtacles to this project, genius might have found ſome reſources againſt them. Every art, and every uſeful improvement, would have ſucceſſively appeared to form a flouriſhing and vigorous colony in that ſpacious plain of America.

This proſpect, which had never been ſeen but at a diſtance, ſeemed to be drawing near at the laſt peace. The inhabitants, to whom the treaſury owed ſeven millions of livres [291,666l. 13s. 4d.] moſtly acquired by criminal manœuvres, deſpairing of ever obtaining the payment of this diſhoneſt debt, or being only able to flatter themſelves that they ſhould obtain it at a diſtant period, and in part only, turned their attention to ſome important cultures with ſucceſs. Their trade was increaſed with part of the peltry trade, which had formerly belonged to Canada. The French iſlands, the wants of which were continually increaſing, while their reſources were diminiſhing, requried

of them more wood, and more articles of ſubſiſtence. The fradulent connexions with Mexico, which the war had interrupted, were renewed. The traders of the mother country, excluded from ſome of the markets they had frequented, ſailed towards the Miſſiſſippi, the borders of which, too long neglected, were at length going to be inhabited. Already had two hundred Acadian families fixed there; and the unfortunate remains of that nation, diſperſed among the Engliſh ſettlements, were preparing to follow them. The ſame diſpoſitions were obſerved in ſeveral coloniſts of St. Vincents and Grenada, diſſatisfied with their new maſters. Twelve or fifteen hundred Canadians had already begun their march to Louiſiana, and were to be followed by many more. There are even ſtrong reaſons to think, that ſeveral catholics were preparing to quit the Britiſh poſſeſſions, in order to go into this ſpacious and beautiful country.

The French miniſtry cede Louiſiana to Spain.

Such was the ſtate of things, when the court of Verſailles announced to the inhabitants of Louiſiana, on the 21ſt of April 1764, that by a ſecret treaty made the 3d of November 1762, the property of this iſland had been given up to the court of Madrid. The languid ſtate of the colony, the obſtacles which prevented its improvement, the impoſſibility of putting it in a ſituation to reſiſt the whole force of the enemy united upon the frontier; theſe conſiderations muſt eaſily have determined the French miniſtry to this ceſſion, apparently ſo conſiderable. But what motive could induce Spain to accept of it? Would it not have been better for them to ſacrifice Florida without any indemniſication, for the reſtoration of public tranquillity, than to receive in exchange a poſſeſſion which it was impoſſible for them to defend? If it were a barrier againſt the enterpriſes which an ambitious, active, and powerful, nation might form againſt Mexico, was it not for the intereſt of Spain that a faithful ally ſhould ſuſtain the firſt ſhock, which would warn them of the ſtorm, and might perhaps give them time to diſſipate it?

But in whatever manner this event may be conſidered in a political view, will it not be looked upon as an offence againſt morality, thus to have ſold or given away the mem-

bers of the community to a foreign power? For what right has a prince to diſpoſe of his ſubjects without their conſent?

What becomes of the rights of the people, if all is due from the nation to the prince, and nothing from the prince to the nation? Are there then no rights but thoſe of princes? Theſe pretend to derive their power from God alone. This maxim, which is invented by the clergy, only with a deſign of raiſing kings above the people, that they themſelves may command even kings in the name of the Deity, is no more than an iron chain, to bind a whole nation under the power of one man. It is no longer a mutual tie of love and virtue, of intereſt and fidelity, that gives to one family the rule in the midſt of a ſociety.

But why ſhould the ſovereign authority wiſh to conceal its being derived from men: Kings are ſufficiently informed by nature, experience, hiſtory, and their own conſciouſneſs, that it is of the people they hold all they poſſeſs, whether conquered by arms, or acquired by treaty. As they receive from the people all the marks of obedience, why ſhould they refuſe to accept from them all the rights of authority? Nothing is to be apprehended from voluntary ſubmiſſion, nor is any thing to be attained by the abuſe of uſurped power. It can only be ſupported by violence; and is it poſſible that a prince can be happy who commands only by force, and is obeyed only through fear? He cannot ſit eaſy upon his throne, when he cannot reign without aſſerting that he holds his crown from God alone. Every man may truly affirm, that he holds from God, his life, his liberty, the unalienable right of being governed only by reaſon and juſtice. The welfare, then, and ſecurity of the people, is the ſupreme law on which all others depend. This is, undoubtedly, the real fundamental law of all ſociety. It is by this we muſt interpret every particular law which muſt be derived from this principle, and ſerve to explain and ſupport it.

If we apply this rule to the treaties of diviſion and ceſſion which kings make between themſelves, will it appear that they have the right of buying, ſelling, or exchanging their ſubjects, without their conſent? Shall princes then arrogate to themſelves the barbarous right of alienating or mortgaging their provinces and their ſubjects as they

would their effects or eſtates; while the ſupplies granted for the ſupport of their houſe, the foreſts of their domain, the jewels of their crown, are all ſacred unalienable effects, which we muſt never have recourſe to, even in the moſt preſſing exigencies of the ſtate?——Methinks I hear the voice of a numerous colony exclaiming from America, and addreſſing the mother country in the following terms:

"What have I done to thee, that thou ſhouldſt deliver "me up into the hands of a ſtranger? Did I not ſpring "from thy loins? Have I not ſown, planted, cultivated, "and reaped, for thee alone? When thy ſhips conveyed me "to theſe ſhores, ſo different from thy own happy climate, "didſt thou not engage for ever to protect me with thy "fleets and armies? Have I not fought in ſupport of thy "rights, and defended the country thou gaveſt me? After "having fertilized it by my labour, have I not maintained "it for thee at the expence of my blood? Thy children "were my parents or my brethren; thy laws my boaſt, and "thy name my pride; that name which I have ſtriven to ren"der illuſtrious among nations to whom it was unknown. "I have procured thee friends and allies among the ſavag"es. I flattered myſelf with the thought that I might "one day come in competition with thy rivals, and be the "terror of thine enemies. But thou haſt forſaken me. "Thou haſt bound me without my conſent, by a treaty, "the very concealment of which was a treachery. Un"feeling, ungrateful parent, how couldſt thou break, in "oppoſition to the dictates of nature, the ties by which I "was attached to thee, even from my birth? While with "inceſſant and painful toil I was reſtoring to thee the tri"bute of nouriſhment and ſubſiſtence I had received from "thee, I wiſhed for no other comfort than that of living "and dying under thy law. That comfort thou haſt re"fuſed me. Thou haſt torn me from my family, to de"liver me up to a maſter whom I did not approve. Re"ſtore my parent to me; reſtore me to him whoſe name I "have been uſed to call upon from my earlieſt infancy. It "is in thy power to make me ſubmit, againſt my will, to "a yoke which I abhor; but this ſubmiſſion will only be "temporary. I ſhall languiſh and periſh with grief and "weakneſs; or if I ſhould recover life and vigour, it will "only be to withdraw myſelf from connections I deteſt;

" though I ſhould even be compelled to deliver myſelf up " to thy enemies."

Conduct of the Spaniards at Louiſiana.

THIS averſion which the inhabitants of Louiſiana had to the Spaniſh government, did not alter the arrangements made between the courts of Madrid and Verſailles. On the 28th February, 1766, M. Ulloa arrived in the colony with fourſcore Spaniards. According to the uſual form, he ought to have taken poſſeſſion immediately on his landing. But this was not the caſe: the orders ſtill continued to be given out in the name of the king of France; the French magiſtrates ſtill acted in that capacity, and the troops ſtill continued to do the duties of the ſervice under French banners; the perſon who repreſented Lewis XV ſtill retained the command. Theſe circumſtances perſuaded the inhabitants, that Charles III was cauſing the country to be examined; and that he would determine to accept or reject it, according as he ſhould find it to the advantage or diſadvantage of his power. This examination was made by an officer who appeared to have no favourable opinion of the region which he had come to reconnoitre; and it was natural to hope that he would put his maſter out of conceit with it.

This illuſion was in general prevailing, when a law came from Spain, to forbid Louiſiana from carrying on any trading connections with the markets where it had hitherto ſold its productions. This fatal decree was accompanied, according to every teſtimony, with intolerable haughtineſs, with odious monopolies, and with repeated acts of arbitrary authority; evils, which were the more oppreſſive, as they appeared to be the work of the French commander, over whom Ulloa had acquired ſuch an aſcendant, as to make him the vile inſtrument of all his caprices. Theſe accuſations were, perhaps, exaggerated. But the Spaniards ſhould not have diſdained to take every ſtep which might have undeceived the prejudiced people, and ſoftened their irritated minds.

This contemptuous behaviour, which was conſidered as the greateſt outrage, and as the utmoſt ſtretch of tyranny, drove the people to deſpair. An infallible way of acquiring happineſs and tranquillity preſented itſelf to them.

ey had only to go acroſs the river to attain it. The Engliſh government ſolicited them to accept an excellent territory, together with every kind of encouragement for the culture of it, and all the prerogatives of liberty; but they were attached to their country by a ſacred and beloved tie. They choſe rather to petition the council, that Ulloa ſhould be obliged to retire; and ſince he had deferred till then to take poſſeſſion, that he ſhould not be allowed to do it, till the court of Verſailles had heard the repreſentations of the colony. On the 28th October 1766, the tribunal pronounced the decree which was required, and the Spaniards quietly reimbarked upon the frigate which had brought them there. There was not the leaſt tumult, or indecent act committed in New Orleans, during the three days that this criſis laſted. When it was at an end, the inhabitants of the city, and thoſe of Lower Louiſiana, who had united their reſentments, in order to bring about the revolution, re-aſſumed their labours with the comfortable hopes that their conduct would be approved by the court of France.

The ſucceſs did not anſwer their expectation. The deputies of the colony did not arrive in Europe till ſix weeks after Ulloa; and they found that the miniſtry of Verſailles were either exceedingly diſpleaſed with what had paſſed, or at leaſt affected to be ſo. Theſe diſpoſitions were openly cenſured by the French nation, who conſidered the coloniſts of Louiſiana in no other light than as a generous ſet of men, whoſe only crime was an unlimited attachment to their mother country. A clamour ſo unanimous and ſo powerful was excited in their favour, that the government could not decently refuſe to ſhew ſome concern for theſe unfortunate people. This tardy compaſſion was of no effect. The court of Madrid who had foreſeen it, had cauſed M. Orelly to ſet out with ſpeed for the iſland of Cuba. From thence this commander took three thouſand men of regular troops or of militia, which he embarked upon twenty-five tranſports; and on the 25th of July 1769, he hoiſted his flag at the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi.

Upon this intelligence, the minds of all men were incenſed with inexpreſſible rage againſt a mother country which made a free ſacrifice of an affectionate colony, and againſt a power which pretended to reign over a people

who rejected their inhuman yoke. Steps were taken to prevent the landing of the troops, and to burn the ſhips which conveyed them. Nothing was more eaſy, if we may credit thoſe who were well acquainted with the ſituation of the place. The conſequences of this bold reſolution were not ſo dangerous as they might appear at firſt ſight. The inhabitants of Louiſiana might hope to form an independent republic. Should Spain and France attack them with too great a force, they might put themſelves under the protection of England; and ſhould Great Britain find itſelf in a ſituation that would not allow her to grant them her ſupport, their laſt reſource would have been to paſs over to the eaſtern ſhore of the river, with their ſlaves, their flocks, and their moveables.

Terrible events were expected, when the promiſes of the Spaniſh general, the ſupplications of Aubry, that weak French commander, whoſe imbecility had occaſioned the loſs of every thing, and the vehement ſpeeches of an eloquent magiſtrate, quieted the ferment. No man impeded the progreſs of the ſmall fleet which arrived before New Orleans on the 17th of Auguſt. The next day all the citizens were freed from the allegiance which they owed to their firſt country. Poſſeſſion was taken of the colony in the name of its new maſter; and the following days, thoſe of the inhabitants who conſented to ſubmit to the Caſtilian yoke took the oaths of allegiance.

Every thing was now completed, except revenge. Victims were required. Twelve were choſen out from among the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons in the army, the magiſtracy, and trade. Six of theſe generous men atoned with their blood for the conſideration which they enjoyed. The others, perhaps more unfortunate, were ſent to languiſh out their lives in the dungeons of the Havannah; and this horrible tragedy was ordered by the Spaniſh miniſtry, while the French miniſtry ſhewed no indignation at it!

Inhuman and cruel maſters, who will be inclined to belong to you? Who will be tempted to be called your ſubjects? By whom will you be ſerved, ſince you diſpoſe of your coloniſts, and cede them without their conſent, in oppoſition to the laws of nature, and to the rights of mankind, as you would diſpoſe of a herd of cattle? And if they had come out againſt you, armed with torches in one

hand, and daggers in the other; if they had burnt the ſhips of the Spaniards; if they had aſſaſſinated the perſon who was charged with the orders of the court of Madrid; what mortal would be ſo vile as to blame them for it? Would the French government have had a right to be offended at an inſurrection, the violence of which would only have been proportionate to the attachment profeſſed for themſelves? Would not the Spaniſh government have received the chaſtiſement they deſerved? But the coloniſts remained quiet; they ſubmitted with reſignation to the new yoke that was impoſed upon them; they ſtifled their inward murmurs, and took the oath of allegiance that was required of them. Barbarous, ſanguinary, and perfidious, Spaniards! they ſwore to be faithful to you, and at that very inſtant you were marking out from among them the firſt victims of your authority. Stupid and baſe coloniſts, where do you conceal yourſelves? What outrages are you ſubmitting to? Your friends, your relations, your chiefs, your defenders, the objects of your affection and of your veneration, are dragging to the ſcaffold, and are going to be plunged into obſcure dungeons; and you remain motionleſs! At what period then, and for what reaſon, will you expoſe yourſelves to death? Learn, at leaſt, to know the power under whoſe authority you are to live. Vile rabble, come and learn the fate that awaits you, by that of citizens who are better than yourſelves.

Thoſe of the inhabitants who had been drawn to the colony by the intereſts of their commercial affairs, terrified with theſe atrocious acts, carried their activity elſewhere. Deſpair made ſeveral proprietors of rich plantations forſake them. The remainder lived in miſery and oppreſſion. Theſe unfortunate people would have had no market for their productions, nor any means of procuring the common neceſſaries of life, had it not been for ſome clandeſtine connections which they carried on with the Engliſh, who trade on the Miſſiſſippi, one of the two ſhores of which they poſſeſs and enrich. Their deſtiny muſt in time become rather leſs diſagreeable, becauſe the communication between Spain and her colonies is freed from many ſhackles, and becauſe the French iſlands have had the liberty granted them of obtaining from that great province,

upon their own ſhips, wood, and ſubſiſtence. The court of Madrid, however, hath ſo many more important concerns in the New Hemiſphere, that it may be foretold they will never attend ſeriouſly to the proſperity of Louiſiana.

But can the wretched ſituation of theſe coloniſts, who have ſuffered their fellow-citizens to be maſſacred, excite any great degree of compaſſion? Is not their miſery a juſt puniſhment, which they have deſerved? Doth not their conſcience, that ſevere judge of all our obligations, inceſſantly reproach them in the following terms: "You had "honeſt and virtuous magiſtrates, whoſe care was employed "all day in contributing to your happineſs, and in watch-"ing over your ſafety in the night, and over your intereſts "during the whole year: you had among you fellow-"citizens, who loved and who ſuccoured you; and moſt "of them were attached to you by the moſt ſacred ties. "They were either your fathers, your brothers, or your "children; and you have quietly ſuffered them to be led "to the ſcaffold, or loaded with chains. You walk with "unfeeling indifference over the ſtones which they have "ſtained with their blood! You bow yourſelves down "before their executioners, and obey their orders! Your "cowardice muſt be puniſhed with the coward's fate; "and the puniſhment muſt ſtill continue, till the exertions "of a noble reſentment ſhall juſtify you to yourſelves and "to us."

Let us now ſee what has been the fate of Canada, which hath likewiſe changed its mother country.

State of Canada at the peace of Utrecht.

At the peace of Utrecht, this vaſt country was in a ſtate of weakneſs and miſery not to be conceived. This was owing to the French who firſt came there, and who rather threw themſelves into this country than ſettled in it. Moſt of them had done nothing more than run about the woods; the more ſenſible among them had attempted ſome cultures, but without choice or plan. A piece of ground, haſtily tilled and built upon, was as haſtily forſaken. The expences, however, the government had laid out, together with the profits of the fur trade, afforded at intervals to the inhabitants

a tolerable ſubſiſtence; but a ſeries of unfortunate wars ſoon deprived them of theſe advantages. In 1714, the exports from Canada did not exceed a hundred thouſand crowns [12,500l.] This ſum, added to 350,000 livres [14,583l. 6s. 8d.] which the government ſent over every year, was all the colony had to depend upon, for the payment of the goods they received from Europe. And, indeed, theſe were ſo few, that the generality were reduced to wear ſkins like the Indians. Such was the diſtreſsful ſituation of the far greater part of twenty thouſand French, ſuppoſed to inhabit theſe immenſe regions.

Population of Canada.

THE happy ſpirit which at that time animated the ſeveral parts of the world rouſed Canada from that ſtate of lethargy in which it had ſo long been plunged. It appears from the eſtimates taken in 1753 and 1758, which were nearly equal, that the inhabitants amounted to 91,000 ſouls, excluſive of the regular troops, whoſe numbers varied according to the different exigencies of the colony.

This calculation did not include the many allies diſperſed throughout an extent of 1,200 leagues in length, and of conſiderable breadth, nor the 16,000 Indians, who dwelt in the centre of the French ſettlements, or in their neighbourhood. None of theſe were ever conſidered as ſubjects, though they lived in the midſt of a great European colony: the ſmalleſt clans ſtill preſerved their independence. All men talk of liberty, but the ſavage only enjoys it. Not only the whole nation, but every individual, is truly free. The conſciouſneſs of his independence influences all his thoughts and actions. He would enter the palace of an Aſiatic monarch in the ſame manner as he would the cottage of a peaſant, and neither be dazzled with his ſplendour, nor awed by his power. It is his own ſpecies, it is mankind, it is his equal, that he loves and reſpects; but he would hate a maſter, and deſtroy him.

Part of the French colony was centered in three cities. Quebec, the capital of Canada, is 1,500 leagues diſtant from France, and 120 leagues from the ſea. It is built in the form of an amphitheatre, on a peninſula, made by the river St. Lawrence and the river St. Charles, and commands a proſpect over extenſive fields, which ſerve to

enrich it, and over a very ſafe road that will admit upwards of two hundred ſhips. It is three miles in circumference. Two thirds of this circuit are defended by the water and the rocks, which are a better ſecurity than the fortifications erected on the ramparts that divide the peninſula. The houſes are tolerably well built. The inhabitants were computed at about 10,000 at the beginning of the year 1759. This place was the centre of commerce, and the ſeat of government.

The city of the Trois Rivieres, built ten years later than Quebec, and ſituated thirty leagues higher, was raiſed with a view of encouraging the trade with the northern Indians. But this ſettlement, though promiſing at firſt, never contained more than 1,500 inhabitants, becauſe the fur trade was ſoon diverted from this market, and carried entirely to Montreal.

Montreal is an iſland, ten leagues long, and almoſt four broad, formed by the river St. Lawrence, ſixty leagues above Quebec. It is the moſt temperate, pleaſant, and fruitful, ſpot in all the country. A few huts thrown up there as it were by chance in 1640, were improved to a regular built town, which contained four thouſand inhabitants. At firſt it lay expoſed to the inſults of the ſavages; but was afterwards incloſed with ſlight palliſades, and then with a wall, conſtructed about fifteen feet high, with battlements. It fell to decay, when the inroads of the Iroquois obliged the French to erect forts higher up the country, to ſecure the fur trade.

The other coloniſts, who were not contained within the walls of theſe three cities, did not live in towns, but were ſcattered along the banks of the river St. Lawrence. None were to be ſeen near the mouth of that river, where the ſoil is uneven and barren, and where no corn will ripen. The firſt habitations to the ſouth were built at fifty leagues, and to the north at twenty leagues, below Quebec; they were at a great diſtance from each other, and their produce was but indifferent. No very fertile fields were to be found but in the neighbourhood of its capital, and they improved as one approached Montreal. There cannot be a more beautiful proſpect than the rich borders of that long and broad canal. Detached woods adding beauty to the tops of the verdant mountains, meadows covered with

flocks, fields crowned with ripening corn, ſmall ſtreams of water flowing down to the river, churches and caſtles ſeen at intervals through the trees, exhibited a ſucceſſion of the moſt inchanting views. This intereſting ſcene did not extend far beyond the river, and for the following reaſon: when the French miniſtry undertook to form a ſettlement in Canada, they gave ſome extent to thoſe active or unfortunate men who were deſirous of ſettling there. But as the cuſtom obſerved at Paris, which ordains that all the deſcendants of the head of a family ſhall have an equal ſhare in the inheritance, was introduced in the colony at the ſame time, this domain was reduced to little or nothing by a number of ſhares which were divided among a long ſeries of generations.

If the whole of the eſtate had been ſecured to the eldeſt ſon, as the public good required, the province would have taken another turn. The father, urged to economy and labour by the deſire of providing for his other children, would have required more lands, covered them with buildings, flocks, and cultures; and upon theſe plantations he would have placed his numerous poſterity. The new proprietors would in their turn have followed this proper example of paternal affection; and the whole colony would in time have been entirely peopled and cultivated.

The advantages of this policy, which had eſcaped the attention of the court of Verſailles, were at length perceived by them in 1745. They forbade the further diviſion of any plantation which ſhould not have an acre and a half in front, and thirty or forty in depth. This regulation did not remedy the miſchiefs occaſioned by two ages of ignorance; but it put a ſtop to an inconvenience, which in the end muſt have deſtroyed the colony.

This plan of inequality in the diviſion of eſtates will be conſidered by the vulgar as a ſyſtem of inhumanity contrary to the laws of nature; but can there be any foundation for ſuch a reproach? Can a man who hath ended his career preſerve any rights? Doth he not loſe them all when he ceaſes to breathe? When the Almighty deprives him of life, doth he not deprive him of every thing that had any relation to it? Ought his laſt will to have any influence over the generations which ſucceed him? Certainly not. As long as he lived, he hath enjoyed with

reaſon the lands which he cultivated. At his death they belong to the firſt perſon who ſhall take poſſeſſion of them and cultivate them. This is the law of nature. If another order of things hath been eſtabliſhed throughout almoſt the whole of the globe, this is a neceſſary conſequence of ſocial inſtitutions. Their laws have derogated from thoſe of nature, to ſecure tranquillity, to encourage induſtry, and to confirm liberty. The government will have a right to act as they have done, when they ſhall think it proper for the intereſts and for the common happineſs of the members of the community, and conſequently in a more or leſs favourable manner to one individual or another. Among the ſeveral poſſible inſtitutions reſpecting the inheritance of the citizens after their deceaſe, there is one which would perhaps meet with ſome approbation. This is, that the eſtates of the deceaſed ſhould return to the maſs of the public funds, to be employed firſt towards the relief of the indigent, and after that, to reſtore perpetually a kind of equality between the fortunes of individuals; when theſe two important objects had been fulfilled, the reſt ſhould be appropriated to the rewarding of virtue and the encouraging of talents.

But to return to Canada: there Nature herſelf directed the labours of the huſbandman, and taught him that watery and ſandy grounds, and thoſe where the pine, the fir-tree, and the cedar, grew ſolitary, were unfavourable to agriculture; but wherever he found a ſoil covered with maple, oak, beech, hornbeam, and ſmall cherry, trees, he might reaſonably expect an abundant crop of wheat, rye, maize, barley, flax, hemp, tobacco, pulſe, and pot-herbs, in great plenty, and of all kinds.

Moſt of the inhabitants had a ſcore of ſheep, whoſe wool was very valuable to them; ten or a dozen milch cows, and five or ſix oxen for the plough. The cattle were ſmall, but their fleſh was excellent; and theſe people lived much better than our country people do in Europe.

With this kind of affluence, they could afford to keep a number of horſes; which were not fine, but fit for drudgery, and able to perform journeys of amazing length upon the ſnow. And indeed the coloniſts took ſuch delight in increaſing the breed of them, that in winter time

they would feed them with the corn which they themſelves wanted ſometimes at another ſeaſon.

Such was the ſituation of the 83,000 French, diſperſed or collected on the banks of the river St. Lawrence. Above the head of the river, and in what is called the Upper Country, there were 8,000 more, who were rather addicted to hunting and trade than to huſbandry.

Their firſt ſettlement was Catarakui, or Fort Frontenac, built in 1671, at the entrance of the lake Ontario, to ſtop the inroads of the Engliſh and Iroquois. The bay of this place ſerved as a harbour for the men of war and trading veſſels belonging to this great lake, which might, with more propriety be called a ſea, and where ſtorms are almoſt as frequent and as dreadful as on the ocean.

Between the lakes Ontario and Erie, each of which meaſures three hundred leagues in circumference, lies a tract of land fourteen leagues in extent. This tract is interſected towards the middle by the famous fall of Niagara, which from its height, breadth, and ſhape, and from the quantity and impetuoſity of its waters, is juſtly accounted the moſt wonderful cataract in the world. It was above this grand and awful waterfall that France had erected fortifications, with a deſign to prevent the Indians from carrying their furs to the rival nation.

Beyond the lake Erie is an extent of land, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Streight, which exceeds all Canada for the mildneſs of the climate, the beauty and variety of the landſcapes, the richneſs of the ſoil, and the profuſion of game and fiſh. Nature has laviſhed all her bleſſings to enrich this beautiful ſpot. But this was not the motive that determined the French to ſettle there in the beginning of the preſent century. It was the vicinity of ſeveral Indian nations, who could ſupply them with conſiderable quantities of furs; and, indeed, this trade increaſed very faſt.

The ſucceſs of this new ſettlement proved fatal to the port of Michillimakinach, a hundred leagues further, between the lake Michigan, the lake Huron, and the lake Superior, which are all three navigable. The greateſt part of the trade which uſed to be carried on there with the natives, was transferred to the Streight, where it continued.

Beſide the forts already mentioned, there were ſome of leſs note, built in different parts of the country, either upon rivers, or at the openings between the mountains; for the firſt ſentiment which intereſt inſpires is that of miſtruſt, and its firſt impulſe is that of attack or defence. Each of theſe forts was provided with a garriſon, which defended the French who were ſettled in the neighbourhood. There were in all eight thouſand ſouls, who inhabited the upper country.

Manners of the French Canadians.

Few of the coloniſts had ſuch manners as it could have been wiſhed they had had. Thoſe whom rural labours fixed in the country, allowed only a few moments to the care of their flocks, and to other indiſpenſable occupations, during the winter. The reſt of the time was paſſed in idleneſs, at public houſes, or in running along the ſnow in ſledges, in imitation of the moſt diſtinguiſhed citizens. When the return of the ſpring called them out to the neceſſary labours of the field, they ploughed the ground ſuperficially without ever manuring it, ſowed it careleſsly, and then returned to their former indolent manner of life till harveſt-time. In a country where the people were too proud or too lazy to work by the day, every family was obliged to gather in their own crops; and nothing was to be ſeen of that ſprightly joy, which on a fine ſummer's day enlivens the reapers, while they are gathering in their rich harveſt.

This amazing negligence might be owing to ſeveral cauſes. The exceſſive cold in winter, which froze up the rivers, totally put a ſtop to the exertions of the inhabitants. They contracted ſuch a habit of idleneſs during the continuance of the ſevere weather for eight months ſucceſſively, that labour appeared inſupportable to them even in the fineſt weather. The numerous feſtivals preſcribed by their religion, which owed its increaſe to their eſtabliſhment, prevented the firſt exertion, as well as they interrupted the progreſs of induſtry. Men are ready enough to comply with that ſpecies of devotion that flatters their indolence. Laſtly, a paſſion for war, which had been purpoſely encouraged among theſe bold and courageous men, made them averſe from the labours of huſbandry. Their

minds were ſo entirely captivated with military glory, that they thought only of war, though they engaged in it without pay.

The inhabitants of the cities, eſpecially of the capital, ſpent the winter, as well as the ſummer, in a conſtant ſcene of diſſipation. They were alike inſenſible to the beauties of nature and to the pleaſures of imagination; they had no taſte for arts or ſciences, for reading or inſtruction. Their only paſſion was amuſement; and perſons of all ages were fond of dancing at aſſemblies. This manner of life conſiderably increaſed the influence of the women, who were poſſeſſed of every attraction, except thoſe ſoft emotions of the ſoul, which alone conſtitute the merit and the charm of beauty. Lively, gay, and addicted to coquetry and gallantry, they were more fond of inſpiring than feeling the tender paſſions. There appeared in both ſexes a greater degree of devotion than virtue, more religion than probity, a higher ſenſe of honour than real honeſty. Superſtition took place of morality, which will always be the caſe, wherever men are taught to believe that ceremonies will compenſate for good works, and that crimes are expiated by prayers.

Form of government eſtabliſhed in Canada.

IDLENESS, prejudice, and levity, would never have gained ſuch an aſcendant in Canada, had the government been careful to turn the attention of the people to laſting and uſeful objects. But all the coloniſts were required to pay an implicit obedience to a mere military authority. They were unacquainted with the ſlow and ſure proceſs of laws. The will of the chief, or of his delegates, was an oracle, which they were not even at liberty to interpret; an awful decree, which they were to ſubmit to without examination. Delays and repreſentations were ſo many crimes in the eyes of a deſpotic ruler, who had uſurped a power of puniſhing or abſolving merely by his word. He had the authority of diſpenſing all favours and penalties, rewards and puniſhments; the right of impriſoning without the ſhadow of a crime, and the ſtill more formidable right of enforcing a reverence for his decrees as ſo many acts of juſtice, though they were but the irregular ſallies of his own caprice.

In early times, this unlimited power was not exerciſed in matters of military diſcipline and political adminiſtration only, but extended even to civil juriſdiction. The governor decided abſolutely, and without appeal, all differences ariſing between the coloniſts. Theſe conteſts were fortunately very rare, in a country where all things might almoſt be ſaid to be in common. This dangerous authority ſubſiſted till 1663, at which period a tribunal was erected in the capital for the definitive trial of all cauſes depending throughout the colony. The cuſtom of Paris, modified in conformity to local circumſtances, formed the code of their laws.

This code was not mutilated or diſfigured by a mixture of revenue laws. The adminiſtration of the finances in Canada only required a few fines of alienation, a trifling contribution from the inhabitants of Quebec and Montreal towards maintaining the fortifications, and ſome duties upon all goods imported and exported. Theſe ſeveral articles united brought no more than 260,200 livres [10,841l. 13s. 4d.] into the treaſury, in the moſt flouriſhing times of the colony.

The lands were not taxed by government, but were burthened with other charges. At the firſt eſtabliſhment of the colony, the king rewarded his officers, civil and military, and others of his ſubjects whom he wiſhed to remunerate or to enrich, with grants of land, from two to ſix leagues ſquare. Theſe great proprietors, who were men of moderate fortunes, and unſkilled in agriculture, were unable to manage ſuch vaſt eſtates, and were therefore under a neceſſity of making over their lands to veteran ſoldiers, or to the coloniſts, for a perpetual annuity.

Each of theſe vaſſals was commonly allowed ninety acres of land, and engaged to pay annually to the lord of the manor one or two ſols [a halfpenny or a penny] per acre, and a meaſure of corn for the entire grant. He likewiſe engaged to work in the lord's mill, and to cede to him, for the miller's fees, the fourteenth part of the flour; he alſo engaged to pay one twelfth for the fines of alienation, and remained ſubject to the lord's right of repurchaſe.

There have been writers who have applauded, with enthuſiaſm, a ſyſtem which appeared proper to confirm order

and ſubordination. But was not this introducing into America the image of the feudal government which for ſo long a time had occaſioned the ruin of Europe? Was it not giving ſubſiſtence to a great number of idle perſons, at the expence of the only claſs of citizens with which an infant ſtate ought to be peopled? The burthen of an annuitant nobility was ſtill increaſed to theſe uſeful coloniſts, by the additional weight of the exactions of the clergy. This rapacious body obtained of the miniſtry, in 1663, that they ſhould receive "the thirteenth part of all that the "ſoil ſhould produce by the labour of man, and of all that "it ſhould produce ſpontaneouſly." This intolerable vexation, in a country which was not yet well ſettled, had laſted four years, when the ſupreme council of Quebec took upon themſelves, in 1667, to reduce the tithes to a twenty-ſixth; and an edict of 1769 confirmed this regulation, which was ſtill too favourable to the prieſts.

So many impediments previouſly oppoſed to the progreſs of agriculture, diſabled the colony from paying for the neceſſaries that came from the mother country. The French miniſtry were at laſt ſo fully convinced of this truth, that, after having always obſtinately oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of manufactures in America, they thought it their intereſt even to promote them in 1706. But thoſe late encouragements had very little effect; and the united induſtry of the coloniſts could never produce more than a few coarſe linens, and ſome very bad woollens.

The fiſheries were not much more attended to than the manufactures. The only one that could become an object of exportation was that of the ſeal. This animal has been ranked in the claſs of fiſh, though he be not dumb; he is always produced on land, and lives more on dry ground than in the water. His head is ſomewhat like that of a maſtiff. He has four paws, which are very ſhort, eſpecially the hinder ones, which ſerve him rather to crawl than to walk upon. They are ſhaped like fins, but the fore-feet have claws. His ſkin is hard, and covered with ſhort hair. He is at firſt white, but turns ſandy or black as he grows up. Sometimes he is of all theſe three different colours.

There are two different kinds of ſeals. The larger one ſometimes weighs two thouſand pounds, and ſeems to have

a ſharper ſnout than the others. The ſmall ones, whoſe ſkin is commonly marbled, are active, and more dexterous in extricating themſelves out of the ſnares that are laid for them. The Indians have the art of taming them ſo far as to make them follow them.

They couple upon the rocks, and ſometimes on the ice; and it is there alſo that the dams bring forth their young. They commonly bear two; and they uſually ſuckle them in the water, but more frequently on land. When they want to teach them to ſwim, it is ſaid they carry them upon their backs, drop them now and then into the water, then take them up again, and proceed in this manner till they are ſtrong enough to ſwim of themſelves. Moſt little birds flutter about from ſpray to ſpray, before they venture to fly abroad; the eagle carries her young, to train them up to encounter the boiſterous winds; it is not, therefore, ſurpriſing that the ſeal, produced on land, ſhould uſe her little ones to live under water.

This amphibious animal is fiſhed for only on the Labrador coaſt. The Canadians go to this frozen and almoſt uninhabitable coaſt towards the middle of October, and remain there till the beginning of June. They place their nets between the continent and a few ſmall iſlands at a little diſtance. The ſeals, who commonly come in ſhoals from the eaſt, attempt to paſs thoſe kinds of ſtraits, and are caught. When they are conveyed to land, they remain frozen there till the month of May. They are then thrown into hot kettles, from whence their oil flows into another veſſel, where it cools. Seven or eight of theſe animals yield a hogſhead of oil.

The ſkin of the ſeal was formerly uſed for muffs, but afterwards to cover trunks, and to make ſhoes and boots. When it is well tanned, the grain is not unlike that of Morocco leather. If it be not quite ſo fine, it preſerves, however, its colour longer.

The fleſh of the ſeal is generally allowed to be good, but it turns to better account when boiled down to oil. This oil keeps clear for a long time, has no bad ſmell, and leaves no ſediment. It is uſed for burning, and dreſſing leather.

Five or ſix ſmall ſhips were fitted out yearly from Canada for the ſeal fiſhery, and one or two leſs for the Caribbee

iſlands. It received from the iſlands nine or ten veſſels laden with rum, molaſſes, coffee, and ſugar; and from France about thirty ſhips, the lading of which together might amount to nine thouſand tons.

In the interval between the two laſt wars, which was the moſt flouriſhing period of the colony, the exports did not exceed 1,200,000 livres [50,000l.] in furs, 800,000 [33,333l. 6s. 8d.] in beaver, 250,000 [10,416l. 13s. 4d.] in ſeal oil, the ſame in flour and peas, and 150,000 livres [6,250l.] in wood of all kinds. Theſe ſeveral articles put together amounted only to 2,650,000 livres [110,416l. 13s. 4d.] a year; a ſum ſufficient to pay for the commodities ſent from the mother country. The government made up the deficiency.

Taxes levied in Canada.

When the French were firſt in poſſeſſion of Canada, they had very little ſpecie. The ſmall quantity that was brought in from time to time by the new ſettlers, did not continue in the country, becauſe the neceſſitous ſtate of the colony ſoon occaſioned it to return. This was a great obſtacle to the progreſs of commerce and agriculture. In 1670 the court of Verſailles coined a particular ſort of money for the uſe of all the French ſettlements in America, and ſet a nominal value upon it, one fourth above the current coin of the mother country. But this expedient was not productive of the advantages that were expected, at leaſt with regard to New France. They therefore contrived to ſubſtitute paper-currency inſtead of metal, for the payment of the troops, and other expences of government. This ſucceeded till the year 1713, when the engagements that had been made with the adminiſtrators of the colony were not faithfully obſerved. Their bills of exchange drawn upon the treaſury of the mother country were not honoured, and from that time fell into diſcredit. They were at laſt paid off in 1720 with the loſs of five eighths.

This event occaſioned the revival of the uſe of ſpecie in Canada: but this expedient laſted only two years. The merchants found it troubleſome, chargeable, and hazardous, to ſend money to France, and ſo did all the coloniſts who had any remittances to make; ſo that they were

the firſt to ſolicit the re-eſtabliſhment of paper currency. This conſiſted of cards, on which were ſtamped the arms of France and Navarre, and they were ſigned by the governor, the intendant, and the comptroller. They were of twenty-four [1l.] twelve [10s.] ſix [5s.] and three livres [2s. 6d.]; and of thirty [1s. 3d.] fifteen [7½d.] and ſeven ſols and a half [3¾d.] The value of the whole number that was made out, did not exceed a million of livres [41,666l. 13s. 4d.] When this ſum was not ſufficient for the public exigencies, the deficiency was made up by orders ſigned only by the intendant. This was the firſt abuſe; but one of ſtill greater conſequence was, that their number was unlimited. The ſmalleſt were of twenty ſols [10d.] and the higheſt of a hundred livres [4l. 3s. 4d.] Theſe different papers circulated in the colony, and ſupplied the want of ſpecie till the month of October. This was the lateſt ſeaſon for the ſhips to ſail from Canada. Then all this paper-currency was turned into bills of exchange, payable in France by the government, which was ſuppoſed to have made uſe of the value. But they were ſo multiplied by the year 1754, that the royal treaſury could no longer anſwer ſuch large demands, and was forced to protract the payment. An unfortunate war that broke out two years after, ſo increaſed their number, that at laſt they were prohibited. This preſently raiſed the price of all commodities to an immoderate degree; and as, on account of the enormous expences of the war, the king was the chief conſumer, he alone bore the loſs ariſing from the diſcarded paper, and from the dearneſs of the goods. In 1759, the miniſtry were obliged to ſtop payment of the Canada bills, till their origin and their real value could be traced. They amounted to an alarming number.

The annual expences of government for Canada, which in 1729 did not exceed 400,000 livres [16,666l. 13s. 4d.] and before 1749 never were greater than 1,700,000 [71,833l. 6s. 8d.] were immenſe after that period. The year 1750 coſt 2,100,000 [87,500l.]; the year 1751 2,700,000 [112,500l.]; the year 1752, 4,090,000 [170,416l. 13s. 4d.]; the year 1753, 5,300,000 [220,833l. 6s. 8d.]; the year 1754, 4,450,000 [185,416l. 13s. 4d.]; the year 1755, 6,100,000 [254,166l. 13s. 4d.]; the

year 1756, 11,300,000 [470,833l. 6s. 8d.]; the year 1757, 19,250,000 [802,083l. 6s. 8d.]; the year 1758, 27,900,000 [1,162,500.]; the year 1759, 26,000,000 [1,083,333l. 6s. 8d.]; the first eight months of the year 1760, 13,500,000 [562,500l.] Of these prodigious sums 80,000,000 [3,333,333l. 6s. 8d.] were due at the peace.

This infamous debt was traced up to its origin. The malversations were horrid. Some persons, who had become delinquents from the abuse of the unlimited power which government had granted them, were degraded, banished, and stripped of part of their plunder. Others, not less guilty, by distributing their gold with a lavish hand, escaped restitution and infamy, and insolently enjoyed the fortune they had acquired by such criminal means. The bills of exchange were reduced to one half, and the orders to a fourth part of their value. They were both paid in bonds bearing four per cent. interest, which fell into the greatest discredit.

In the debt of eighty millions [3,333,333l. 6s. 8d.], the Canadians were holders of thirty-four millions [1,416,666l. 13s. 4d.] in orders, and seven millions [291,666l. 13s 4d.] in bills of exchange. Their paper was subjected to the general regulation: but Great Britain, whose subjects they were become, obtained for them an indemnity of three millions [125,400l.] in bonds, and six hundred thousand livres [250,000l.] in specie; so that they received fifty-five per cent. upon their bills of exchange, and thirty-four per cent. upon their orders.

Advantages which France might have derived from Canada.

If Canada did not deserve these sacrifices from the mother country, it was the fault of the power that gave laws to it. Nature had made this country proper for the production of all kinds of grain, which are here of a superior quality, and liable to few accidents, because when sown in May, they are gathered before the end of August. The wants of the American islands, and of part of Europe, secure the sale of them at an advantageous price. Nevertheless, no more wheat was ever cultivated than what was necessary for the colonists, who were even sometimes reduced to the necessity of drawing their subsistence from foreign markets.

If huſbandry had been encouraged and extended, the breed of cattle would have increaſed. There is ſuch plenty of paſture ground and of acorns, that the colonies might eaſily have bred oxen and hogs enough to ſupply the French iſlands with beef and pork, without having recourſe to Iriſh beef. Poſſibly, theſe cattle might in time have increaſed ſufficiently to furniſh the traders of the mother country.

The ſame advantages could not have been obtained from their ſheep, even if the rigour of the climate had not ſet an invincible obſtacle to their multiplication. Their fleece, which muſt always be coarſe, can only be uſefully employed in the colony itſelf, for ſtuffs of a more or leſs ordinary kind.

The ſame thing cannot be ſaid of the ginſeng. This plant, which the Chineſe procure from the Corea, or from Tartary, and which they buy at the weight of gold, was found in 1720 by the jeſuit Lafitau, in the foreſts of Canada, where it grows very common. It was ſoon carried to Canton, where it was much eſteemed, and ſold at an extravagant price. The ginſeng, which at firſt ſold at Quebec for thirty or forty ſols [about 1s. 6d. on an average] a pound, roſe to twenty-five livres [1l. 10d.] In 1752, the Canadians exported this plant to the value of 500,000 livres [20,833l. 6s. 8d.] There was ſuch a demand for it, that they were induced to gather in May what ought not to have been gathered till September, and to dry in the oven what ſhould have been dried gradually in the ſhade. This ſpoilt the ſale of the ginſeng of Canada, in the only country in the world where it could find a market; and the coloniſts were ſeverely puniſhed for their exceſſive rapaciouſneſs, by the total loſs of a branch of commerce, which, if rightly managed, might have proved a ſource of opulence.

Another, and a ſurer plan for the encouragement of induſtry, was the working of the iron mines which abound in thoſe parts. Mr. Dantic hath laboured for a long time to diſcover a certain method of claſſing all the kinds of iron that are known. After a great number of experiments, the detail of which would be improper here, he hath found that the iron of Styria was the beſt. The ſecond beſt is the iron of North America, of Danemara in Sweden, of Spain, of Bayonne, of Rouſſillon, of the country of Foix,

of Berri, of Thierache, and of Sweden, the common iron of France, and laſtly, that of Siberia. If this be really the caſe, what advantage might not the court of Verſailles have derived from the mine which was diſcovered at the Trois Rivieres, which is exceedingly abundant, and near the ſurface of the earth? At firſt it was only careleſsly and improperly worked; but theſe labours were increaſed and improved by a blackſmith arrived from Europe in 1739. The colony made uſe of no other iron than this; ſome ſpecimens of it were even exported, but there the matter reſted. This negligence was the more inexcuſable, as at this period the reſolution had been taken, after much heſitation, to form a naval ſettlement in Canada.

The firſt Europeans who landed on that vaſt region, found it entirely covered with foreſts. The principal trees were oaks of prodigious height, and pines of all ſizes. Theſe woods, when felled, might have been conveyed with eaſe down the river St. Lawrence, and the numberleſs rivers that fall into it. By an unaccountable fatality, all theſe treaſures were overlooked or deſpiſed. At length the attention of the court of Verſailles was turned towards them; and ſome docks were conſtructed by their orders at Quebec, for building men of war: but this buſineſs was, unfortunately, truſted to agents, who had nothing in view but their own private intereſt.

The timber ſhould have been felled upon the hills, where the cold air hardens the wood by contracting its fibres: whereas it was conſtantly taken from marſhy grounds, and from the banks of the rivers, where the moiſture gives it a looſer and a richer texture. Inſtead of conveying it in barges, they floated it down on rafts to the place of its deſtination, where, being forgotten and left in the water, it gathered a kind of moſs that rotted it. Inſtead of being put under ſheds when it was landed, it was left expoſed to the ſun in ſummer, to the ſnow in winter, and to the rains in ſpring and autumn. It was then conveyed into the dock-yards, where it again ſuſtained the inclemency of the ſeaſons for two or three years. Negligence or diſhoneſty enhanced the price of every thing to ſuch a degree, that ſails, ropes, pitch and tar, were imported from Europe into a country, which, with a little induſtry, might have ſupplied the whole kingdom of France with all theſe materials. This

bad management had brought the wood of Canada entirely into diſrepute, and effectually ruined the reſources which that country afforded for the navy.

The colony furniſhed the manufactures of the mother country with a branch of trade that might almoſt be called an excluſive one, which was the preparation of the beaver. This commodity at firſt was ſubjected to the oppreſſive reſtraints of monopoly. The India company could not but make an ill uſe of their privilege, and really did ſo. What they bought of the Indians was chiefly paid for in Engliſh ſcarlet cloths, which thoſe people were very fond of wearing. But as they could make twenty-five or thirty per cent. more of their commodities in the Engliſh ſettlements than the company choſe to give, they carried thither all they could conceal from the ſearch of the company's agents, and exchanged their beaver for Engliſh cloth and India calico. Thus did France by the abuſe of an inſtitution which ſhe was by no means obliged to maintain, deprive herſelf of the double advantage of furniſhing materials to ſome of her own manufactures, and of ſecuring a market for the produce of others. She was equally ignorant of the facility of eſtabliſhing a whale fiſhery in Canada.

The chief ſources of this fiſhery are Davis's ſtraits and Greenland. Fifty ſhips come every year into the former of theſe latitudes, and a hundred and fifty into the latter. The Dutch are concerned in more than three fourths of them. The reſt are fitted out from Bremen, Hamburgh, and England. It is computed that the whole expence of fitting out 200 ſhips of 350 tons burthen, upon an average, muſt amount to 10,000,000 of livres [416,666l. 13s. 4d.] The uſual produce of each is rated at 80,000 livres [3,333l. 6s. 8d.] and conſequently the whole amount of the fiſhery cannot be leſs than 3,200,000 livres [1,333,333l. 6s. 8d.] If we deduct from this the profits of the ſeamen who are employed in theſe hard and dangerous voyages, very little remains for the merchants concerned in this trade.

Theſe circumſtances have by degrees diſguſted the Biſcayans of a trade, in which they were the firſt adventurers. Other Frenchmen have not been induced to take it up, inſomuch that the whale fiſhery has been totally abandoned by that nation, which of all others conſumed the greateſt quantity of blubber, whale-bone, and ſpermaceti.

It was an eaſy matter to take it up again in the gulf of St. Lawrence, and even at the mouth of the Saguenay, which is cloſe to the excellent port of Tadouſſac. It is even affirmed, that it hath been tried on the firſt arrival of the French in Canada, and that it hath been interrupted for no other reaſon than becauſe the profits of the fur-trade were more eaſy and more rapid. It is, however, certain, that the fiſhery in the river St. Lawrence would have been attended with leſs danger and leſs expence, than at Davis's ſtraits or Greenland. It hath ever been the fate of this colony, that the beſt ſchemes with regard to it have not been purſued with perſeverance; and that in particular the government have never done any thing for the encouragement of the whale fiſhery, which might have proved an excellent nurſery for ſeamen, and given to France a new branch of commerce.

The ſame indifference hath been carried ſtill further. The cod fiſh frequent particularly the river St. Lawrence, as high up as at the diſtance of fourſcore leagues from the ſea. They may be caught as they paſs over this vaſt ſpace. It would, however, be advantageous to eſtabliſh a ſettled fiſhery at the harbour of Mont Louis, ſituated at the mouth of a pleaſant river, which can receive veſſels of one hundred tons burthen, and which ſhelters them from every kind of danger. The fiſh is more plentiful there than anywhere elſe. Every convenience required for drying the fiſh is found upon the ſhores; and the neighbouring lands are very proper for paſture grounds or culture. Every circumſtance induces us to believe that a colony would proſper in that ſituation. This was the opinion in 1697; and an aſſociation was formed at this period to begin this undertaking, by the attention of Riverin, an active and intelligent man. Numberleſs obſtacles occaſioned the failure of this project, which hath been ſince reſumed, but very carelefsly executed. This was a great misfortune for Canada, which, had it been remarkable for any ſucceſs of this kind, would thereby have greatly extended its connections with Europe and with the Weſt-Indies.

Every circumſtance, therefore, conſpired to promote the proſperity of the ſettlements in Canada, if they had been aſſiſted by the men who ſeemed to be moſt intereſted in them. But whence could proceed that inconceivable want

of induſtry, which ſuffered them to remain in the ſame wretched ſtate they were in at firſt?

Difficulties encountered by France before deriving advantage from Canada.

It muſt be confeſſed, that the nature of the climate preſented ſome obſtacles to the efforts of policy. The river St. Lawrence is frozen up for ſix months in the year. At other times it is not navigable by night, on account of thick fogs, rapid currents, ſand banks, and concealed rocks, which make it even dangerous by day-light. From Quebec to Montreal, the river is only practicable for veſſels of three hundred tons burthen, and even theſe are frequently impeded by terrible winds, which detain them a fortnight or three weeks in this ſhort paſſage. From Montreal to the lake Ontario, traders meet with no leſs than ſix water-falls, which oblige them to unload their canoes, and to convey them and their lading a conſiderable way by land.

Far from encouraging men to ſurmount the difficulties of nature, a miſinformed government planned none but ruinous ſchemes. To gain the advantage over the Engliſh in the fur-trade, they erected three-and-thirty forts, at a great diſtance from each other. The building and victualling of them diverted the Canadians from the only labours that ought to have engroſſed their attention. This error engaged them in an arduous and perilous track.

It was not without ſome uneaſineſs that the Indians ſaw the formation of theſe ſettlements, which might endanger their liberty. Their ſuſpicions induced them to take up arms, ſo that the colony was ſeldom free from war. Neceſſity made all the Canadians ſoldiers. Their manly and military education rendered them hardy from their youth, and fearleſs of danger. Before they had arrived to the age of manhood, they would traverſe a vaſt continent in the ſummer-time in canoes, and in winter on foot, through ice and ſnow. Having nothing but their gun to procure ſubſiſtence with, they were in continual danger of ſtarving; but they were under no apprehenſion, not even of falling into the hands of the ſavages, who had exerted all the efforts of their imagination in inventing tortures for their enemies, far worſe than death.

The ſedentary arts of peace, and the conſtant labours of agriculture, could have no attraction for men accuſtomed to an active but wandering life. The court, which form no idea of the ſweets or the utility of rural life, increaſed the averſion which the Canadians had conceived for it, by beſtowing all their favours and honours upon military exploits alone. The diſtinction that was chiefly laviſhed was that of nobility, which was attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. It not only plunged the Canadians in idleneſs, but alſo inſpired them with an unconquerable paſſion for every thing that was ſplendid. Profits which ought to have been kept ſacred for the improvement of the lands were laid out in ornament, and a real poverty was concealed under the trappings of deſtructive luxury.

Origin of the wars between the Engliſh and the French in Canada.

SUCH was the ſtate of the colony in 1747, when La Galiſſoniere was appointed governor. He was a man poſſeſſed of very extenſive knowledge, active and reſolute, and of a courage the more ſteady, as it was the effect of reaſon. The Engliſh wanted to extend the limits of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, as far as the ſouth ſide of the river St. Lawrence. He thought this an unjuſt claim, and was determined to confine them within the peninſula, which he apprehended to be the boundary ſettled even by treaties. Their ambition of encroaching on the inland parts, particularly towards the Ohio, or Fair river, he likewiſe thought unreaſonable. He was of opinion that the Apalachian mountains ought to be the limits of their poſſeſſions, and was fully determined they ſhould not paſs them. His ſucceſſor, who was appointed while he was preparing the means of accompliſhing this vaſt deſign, entered into his views with all the warmth they deſerved. Numbers of forts were immediately erected on all ſides, to ſupport the ſyſtem which the court had adopted, perhaps without foreſeeing, or at leaſt without ſufficiently attending to, the conſequences.

At this period began thoſe hoſtilities between the Engliſh and the French in North America, which were rather countenanced than openly avowed by the reſpective mother countries. This clandeſtine mode of carrying on the war was perfectly agreeable to the miniſtry at Verſailles, as it afford-

ed an opportunity of recovering by degrees, and without expoſing their weakneſs, what they had loſt by treaties, at a time when the enemy had impoſed their own terms. Theſe repeated checks at laſt opened the eyes of Great Britain, and diſcloſed the political deſigns of her rival. George II thought that a clandeſtine war was inconſiſtent with the ſuperiority of his maritime forces. His ſhips were ordered to attack thoſe of the French in all parts of the world. The Engliſh accordingly took or diſperſed all the French ſhips they met with, and in 1758 ſteered towards Cape-Breton.

Conqueſt of Cape-Breton by the Engliſh.

THIS iſland, the key of Canada, had already been attacked in 1745; and the event is of ſo ſingular a nature, that it deſerves a particular detail. The plan of this firſt invaſion was laid at Boſton, and New England bore the expence of it. A merchant, named Pepperel, who had excited, encouraged, and directed, the enthuſiaſm of the colony, was intruſted with the command of an army of 6,000 men, which had been levied for this expedition.

Though theſe forces, convoyed by a ſquadron from Jamaica, brought the firſt news to Cape-Breton of the danger that threatened it; though the advantage of a ſurpriſe would have ſecured the landing without oppoſition; though they had but 600 regular troops to encounter, and 800 inhabitants haſtily armed, the ſucceſs of the undertaking was ſtill precarious. What great exploits, indeed, could be expected from a militia ſuddenly aſſembled, who had never ſeen a ſiege or faced an enemy, and were to act under the direction of ſea-officers only? Theſe unexperienced troops ſtood in need of the aſſiſtance of ſome fortunate incident, which they were indeed favoured with in a ſingular manner.

The conſtruction and repairs of the fortifications had always been left to the care of the garriſon of Louiſburg. The ſoldiers were eager of being employed in theſe works, which they conſidered as conducive to their ſafety, and as the means of procuring them a comfortable ſubſiſtence. When they found that thoſe who were to have paid them appropriated to themſelves the profit of their labours, they

demanded juſtice. It was denied them; and they determined to aſſert their right. As theſe depredations had been ſhared between the chief perſons of the colony and the ſubaltern officers, the ſoldiers could obtain no redreſs. Their indignation againſt theſe rapacious extortioners roſe to ſuch a height, that they diſpiſed all authority. They had lived in open rebellion for ſix months, when the Engliſh appeared before the place.

This was the time to conciliate the minds of both parties, and to unite in the common cauſe. The ſoldiers made the firſt advances; but their commanders miſtruſted a generoſity of which they themſelves were incapable. Had theſe mean oppreſſors conceived it poſſible that the ſoldiers could have entertained ſuch elevated notions as to ſacrifice their own reſentment to the good of their country, they would have taken advantage of this diſpoſition, and have fallen upon the enemy while they were forming their camp, and beginning to open their trenches. Beſiegers, unacquainted with the principles of the art of war, would have been diſconcerted by regular and vigorous attacks. The firſt checks might have been ſufficient to diſcourage them, and to make them relinquiſh the undertaking. But it was firmly believed that the ſoldiers were only deſirous of ſallying out, that they might have an opportunity of deſerting; and their own officers kept them in a manner priſoners, till a defence ſo ill managed had reduced them to the neceſſity of capitulating. The whole iſland ſhared the fate of Louiſburg, its only bulwark.

This valuable poſſeſſion, reſtored to France by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, was again attacked by the Engliſh in 1758. On the 2d of June, a fleet of twenty-three ſhips of the line and eighteen frigates, carrying 16,000 well diſciplined troops, anchored in Gabarus bay, within half a league of Louiſburg. As it was evident that it would be to no purpoſe to land at a greater diſtance, becauſe it would be impoſſible to bring up the artillery and other neceſſaries for a conſiderable ſiege, it had been attempted to render the landing impracticable near the town. In the prudent precautions that had been taken, they beſiegers ſaw the dangers and difficulties they had to expect; but far from being deterred by them, they had recourſe to ſtratagem; and while by extending their line they threatened

and commanded the whole coaſt, they landed by force of arms at the creek of Cormoran.

This place was naturally weak. The French had fortified it with a good parapet planted with cannon. Behind this rampart they had poſted 2,000 excellent ſoldiers, and ſome Indians. In front they had made ſuch a cloſe hedge with branches of trees, that would have been very difficult to penetrate, even if it had not been defended. This kind of palliſade, which concealed all the preparations for defence, appeared at a diſtance to be nothing more than a verdant plain.

This would have preſerved the colony, had the aſſailants been ſuffered to complete their landing, and to advance, with the confidence that they had but few obſtacles to ſurmount. Had this been the caſe, overpowered at once by the fire of the artillery and the ſmall arms, they would infallibly have periſhed on the ſhore, or in the hurry of embarking, eſpecially as the ſea was juſt then very rough. This unexpected loſs might have interrupted the whole project.

But all the prudent precautions that had been taken, were rendered abortive by the impetuoſity of the French. The Engliſh had ſcarce begun to move towards the ſhore, when their enemies haſtened to diſcover the ſnare they had laid for them. By the briſk and haſty fire that was aimed at their boats, and ſtill more by the premature removal of the boughs that maſked the forces, which it was ſo much the intereſt of the French to conceal, they gueſſed at the danger they were going to ruſh into. They immediately turned back, and ſaw no other place to effect their landing upon but a rock, which had been always deemed inacceſſible. General Wolfe, though much taken up in reimbarking his troops, and ſending off the boats, gave the ſignal to Major Scot to repair thither.

The officer immediately removed to the ſpot with his men. His own boat coming up firſt, and ſinking at the very inſtant he was ſtepping out, he climbed up the rock alone. He was in hopes of meeting with a hundred of his men, who had been ſent thither ſome hours before. He found only ten. With theſe few, however, he gained the ſummit of the rock. Ten Indians and ſixty Frenchmen killed two of his men, and mortally wounded three. In

ſpite of his weakneſs, he ſtood his ground under cover of a thicket, till his brave countrymen, regardleſs of the boiſterous waves and the fire of the cannon, came up to him, and put him in full poſſeſſion of that important poſt, the only one that could ſecure their landing.

The French, as ſoon as they ſaw that the enemy had got a firm footing on land, betook themſelves to the only remaining refuge, and ſhut themſelves up in Louiſburg. The fortifications were in a bad condition, becauſe the ſea-ſand, which they had been obliged to uſe, is by no means fit for works of maſonry. The revetements of the ſeveral curtains were entirely crumbled away. There was only one caſement, and a ſmall magazine, that were bomb-proof. The garriſon which was to defend the place conſiſted only of 2,900 men.

Notwithſtanding all theſe diſadvantages, the beſieged were determined to make an obſtinate reſiſtance. While they were employed in defending themſelves with ſo much firmneſs, the ſuccours they expected from Canada might poſſibly arrive. At all events, this reſiſtance might be the means of preſerving that great colony from all further invaſion for the remainder of the campaign. It is ſcarce credible that the French were confirmed in their reſolution by the courage of a woman. Madame de Drucourt was continually upon the ramparts, with her purſe in her hand; and firing herſelf three guns every day, ſeemed to diſpute with the governor, her huſband, the glory of his office. The beſieged were not diſmayed at the ill ſucceſs of their ſeveral ſallies, or the maſterly operations concerted by Admiral Boſcawen and General Amherſt. It was but at the eve of an aſſault, which it was impoſſible to ſuſtain, that they talked of ſurrendering. They made an honourable capitulation; and the conqueror ſhewed more reſpect for his enemy and for himſelf, than to ſully his glory by any act of barbarity or avarice.

The Engliſh attack Canada. THE conqueſt of Cape-Breton opened the way into Canada. The very next year the ſeat of war was removed thither, or rather the ſcenes of bloodſhed which had long been acted over that immenſe country were multiplied. The cauſe of theſe proceedings was this:

The French, ſettled in thoſe parts, had carried their ambitious views towards the north, where the fineſt furs were to be had, and in the greateſt plenty. When this vein of wealth was exhauſted, or yielded leſs than it did at firſt, their trade turned ſouthward, where they diſcovered the Ohio, to which they gave the name of the Fair river. It laid open the natural communication between Canada and Louiſiana. For though the ſhips that ſail up the river St. Lawrence go no farther than Quebec, the navigation is carried on in barges to lake Ontario, which is only parted from lake Erie by a neck of land, where the French, upon their firſt ſettling, built fort Niagara. It is on this ſpot, in the neighbourhood of lake Erie, that the ſource of the river Ohio is found, which waters the fineſt country in the world, and being increaſed by the many rivers that fall into it, diſcharges itſelf into the Miſſiſſippi.

The French, however, made no uſe of this magnificent canal. The trifling intercourſe that ſubſiſted between the two colonies, was always carried on by the northern regions. The new way, which was much ſhorter and eaſier than the old, firſt began to be frequented by a body of troops that were ſent over to Canada in 1739, to aſſiſt the colony of Louiſiana, then engaged in an open war with the Indians. After this expedition, the ſouthern road was again forgotten, and was never thought of till the year 1753. At that period, ſeveral ſmall forts were erected along the Ohio, the courſe of which had been traced for four years paſt. The moſt conſiderable of theſe forts took its name from the governor Duqueſne, who had built it.

The Engliſh colonies could not ſee without concern French ſettlements raiſed behind them, which joined to the old ones, and ſeemed to ſurround them. They were apprehenſive, leſt the Apalachian mountains, which were to form the natural boundaries between both nations, ſhould not prove a ſufficient barrier againſt the attempts of a reſtleſs and warlike neighbour. Urged by this motive, they themſelves paſſed theſe famous mountains, to diſpute the poſſeſſion of the Ohio with the rival nation. This firſt ſtep proved unſucceſsful. The ſeveral parties that were ſucceſſively ſent out were routed, and the forts were demoliſhed as faſt as they were built.

To put an end to theſe national affronts, and revenge

the diſgrace they reflected on the mother country, a large body of troops was ſent over, under the command of General Braddock. In the ſummer of 1755, as this general was marching to attack Fort Duquesne with 36 pieces of cannon and 6,000 men, he was ſurpriſed, within four leagues of the place, by 250 Frenchmen and 650 Indians, and all his army cut to pieces. This unaccountable diſaſter put a ſtop to the march of three numerous bodies that were advancing to fall upon Canada. The terror occaſioned by this accident made them haſten back to their quarters; and in the next campaign all their motions were guided by the moſt timorous caution.

The French were emboldened by this perplexity, and though very much inferior to the Engliſh, ventured to appear before Oſwego in Auguſt 1756. It was originally a fortified magazine at the mouth of the river Onondago on the lake Ontario. It ſtood nearly in the centre of Canada, in ſo advantageous a ſituation, that many works had from time to time been erected there, which had rendered it one of the moſt capital poſts in thoſe parts. It was garriſoned by 1,800 men, with 121 pieces of cannon, and great plenty of ſtores of all kinds. Though ſo well provided, it ſurrendered in a few days to the impetuous and bold attacks of 3,000 men who were laying ſiege to it.

In Auguſt 1757, 5,500 French, and 1,800 Indians, marched up to Fort George, ſituated on lake Sacrament, which was juſtly conſidered as the bulwark of the Engliſh ſettlements, and the rendezvous of all the forces deſtined againſt Canada. Nature and art had conſpired to block up the roads leading to that place, and to make all acceſs impracticable. Theſe advantages were further ſtrengthened by ſeveral bodies of troops, placed at proper diſtances in the beſt poſitions. Yet theſe obſtacles were ſurmounted with ſuch prudence and intrepidity, as would have been memorable in hiſtory, had the ſcene of action lain in a more diſtinguiſhed ſpot. The French, after killing or diſperſing all the ſmall parties they met with, arrived before the place, and forced the garriſon, conſiſting of 2,264 men, to capitulate.

This freſh diſaſter rouſed the Engliſh. Their generals applied themſelves during the winter to the training up of

their men, and bringing the ſeveral troops under a proper diſcipline. They made them exerciſe in the woods, in fighting after the Indian manner. In the ſpring, the army, conſiſting of 6,300 regulars, and 13,000 militia belonging to the colonies, aſſembled on the ruins of Fort George. They embarked on lake Sacrament, which parted the colonies of both nations, and marched up to Carillon, which was only at the diſtance of one league.

That fort, which had been but lately erected on the breaking out of the war, to cover Canada, was not of ſufficient extent to withſtand the forces that were marching againſt it. Intrenchments were formed haſtily under the the cannon of the fort, with ſtems of trees heaped up one upon another; and large trees were laid in front, the branches of which being cut and ſharpened, anſwered the purpoſe of chevaux-de-friſe. The colours were planted on the top of the ramparts, behind which lay 3,500 men.

The Engliſh were not diſmayed at theſe formidable appearances, being fully determined to remove the diſgrace of their former miſcarriages in a country where the proſperity of their trade depended on the ſucceſs of their arms. On the 8th of July 1758, they ruſhed upon theſe palliſades with the moſt extragavant fury. Neither were they diſconcerted by the French firing upon them from the top of the parapet, while they were unable to defend themſelves. They fell upon the ſharp ſpikes, and were entangled among the ſtumps and boughs, through which their eagerneſs had made them ruſh. All theſe loſſes ſerved but to increaſe their impetuous rage, which continued upwards of four hours, and coſt them above four thouſand of their brave men before they would give up this raſh and deſperate undertaking.

They were equally unſucceſsful in ſmaller actions. They did not attack one poſt without meeting with a repulſe. Every party they ſent out was beaten, and every convoy intercepted. The ſeverity of the winter might have been ſuppoſed to ſecure them; but even in this rigorous ſeaſon the Indians and Canadians carried fire and ſword to the frontiers, and into the very centre, of the Engliſh colonies.

All theſe diſaſters were owing to a falſe principle of

government. The court of London had always entertained a notion that the ſuperiority of their navy was alone ſufficient to aſſert their dominion in America, as it afforded a ready conveyance for ſuccours, and could eaſily intercept the enemy's forces.

Though experience had ſhewn the fallacy of this idea, the miniſtry did not even endeavour, by a proper choice of generals, to rectify the fatal effects it had produced. Almoſt all thoſe who were employed in this ſervice were deficient in point of abilities and activity.

The armies were not likely to make amends for the defects of their commanders. The troops, indeed, were not wanting in that daring ſpirit and invincible courage which is the characteriſtic of the Engliſh ſoldiers, ariſing from the climate, and ſtill more from the nature, of their government; but theſe national qualities were counterbalanced or extinguiſhed by the hardſhips they underwent, in a country deſtitute of all the conveniences that Europe affords. As to the militia of the colonies, it was compoſed of peaceable huſbandmen, who were not, like moſt of the French coloniſts, inured to ſlaughter by a habit of hunting, and by military ardour.

To theſe diſadvantages, ariſing from the nature of things, were added others altogether owing to miſconduct. The poſts erected for the ſafety of the ſeveral Engliſh ſettlements were not ſo contrived as to ſupport and aſſiſt each other. The provinces having all ſeparate intereſts, and not being united under the authority of one head, did not concur in thoſe joint efforts for the good of the whole, and that unanimity of ſentiments, which alone can inſure the ſucceſs of their meaſures. The ſeaſon of action was waſted in vain altercations between the governors and the coloniſts. Every plan of operation that met with oppoſition from any ſet of men was dropped. If any one was agreed upon, it was certainly made public before the execution, and by that means rendered abortive. To this may be added, the irreconcilable hatred ſubſiſting between them and the Indians.

Theſe nations had always ſhewn a viſible partiality for the French, in return for their kindneſs in ſending them miſſionaries, whom they conſidered rather as ambaſſadors from the prince, than as ſent from God. Theſe miſſion-

aries, by ſtudying the language of the ſavages, conforming to their temper and inclinations, and putting in practice every attention to gain their confidence, had acquired an abſolute dominion over their minds. The French coloniſts, far from communicating to them the European manners, had adopted thoſe of the ſavages they lived with: their indolence in time of peace, their activity in war, and their conſtant fondneſs for a wandering life. Several officers of diſtinction had even been incorporated with them. The hatred and jealouſy of the Engliſh has traduced them on this account; and they have not ſcrupled to aſſert, that theſe generous men had given money for the ſkulls of their enemies; that they joined in the horrid dances that accompany the execution of their priſoners, imitated their cruelties, and partook of their barbarous feſtivals. But theſe enormities would be better adapted to people who have ſubſtituted national to religious fanaticiſm, and are more inclined to hate other nations than to love their own government.

The ſtrong attachment of the Indians to the French was productive of the moſt inveterate hatred againſt the Engliſh. Of all the European ſavages, theſe were, in their opinion, the hardeſt to tame. Their averſion ſoon roſe to madneſs; and they even thirſted for Engliſh blood, when they found that a reward was offered for their deſtruction, and that they were to be expelled their native land by foreign aſſaſſins. The ſame hands which had enriched the Engliſh colony with their furs, now took up the hatchet to deſtroy it. The Indians purſued the Engliſh with as much eagerneſs as they did the wild beaſts. Glory was no longer their aim in battle, their only object was ſlaughter. They deſtroyed armies which the French only wiſhed to ſubdue. Their fury roſe to ſuch a height, that an Engliſh priſoner having been conducted into a lonely habitation, the woman immediately cut off his arm, and made her family drink the blood that ran from it. A jeſuit miſſionary reproaching her with the atrociouſneſs of the action, her anſwer was, "my children muſt be warriors, and "therefore muſt be fed with the blood of their ene-"mies."

Taking of Quebec by the Engliſh.

SUCH was the ſituation of affairs, when an Engliſh fleet, conſiſting of three hundred ſail, and commanded by Admiral Saunders, entered the river St. Lawrence at the end of June 1759. On a dark night, and with a very favourable wind, eight fire-ſhips were ſent out to deſtroy it. Not a ſhip nor a man could have eſcaped, if the operation had been carried on with that degree of ſkill, coolneſs, and courage, which it required. But thoſe who had undertaken it were perhaps deficient in every one of thoſe qualities, or at leaſt did not unite them all. Impatient to ſecure their return to land, they ſet fire to the ſhips under their management a great deal too ſoon, and the enemy being warned by this of the danger that threatened them, eſcaped it by their activity and boldneſs, at the expence only of two ſmall veſſels.

While the naval forces had ſo fortunately eſcaped being deſtroyed, the army, conſiſting of ten thouſand men, was attacking Levy Point, drove away the French troops which were intrenched there, erected their own batteries, and bombarded Quebec with the greateſt ſucceſs. This town, though ſituated on the oppoſite ſhore of the river, was nevertheleſs at no greater diſtance from it than ſix hundred toiſes.

But theſe diſadvantages did not lead to the deſign which the Engliſh had in view. Their intention was to become maſters of the capital of the colony; and the coaſt by which they muſt have reached it was ſo well defended by redoubts, batteries, and troops, that it ſeemed inacceſſible. The enemy were more and more confirmed in this opinion after they had attempted the fall of Montmorency, where they loſt fifteen hundred men, and where they might eaſily have loſt all the men they had imprudently landed there.

In the meantime the ſeaſon was advancing. General Amherſt, who was to have cauſed a diverſion towards the lake, did not make his appearance; and every hope was even given up of forcing the French in their poſts. A general diſcouragement was beginning to prevail, when Mr. Murray propoſed to go with the army and part of the fleet two miles above the town, and to ſeize upon the heights of Abraham, which the French had neglected to

guard, becauſe they thought them ſufficiently defended by the very ſteep rocks which ſurrounded them. This brilliant and fortunate idea was eagerly adopted. On the 13th of December, five thouſand Engliſh landed at the foot of the heights before day-break, and without being perceived. They clambered up without loſing any time, and formed the line of battle on the top of them, when at nine o'clock they were attacked by two thouſand ſoldiers, five thouſand Canadians, and five hundred ſavages. The action began, and proved favourable to the Engliſh, who at the beginning of it had loſt the intrepid Wolfe, their general, but did not loſe their confidence and reſolution.

This was gaining a conſiderable advantage, but it might not have been deciſive. The troops that were poſted within a few leagues of the field of battle might have been collected in twelve hours, to join the vanquiſhed army, and march up to the conqueror with a ſuperior force. This was the opinion of General Montcalm, who being mortally wounded in the retreat, had time enough before he expired to conſult the ſafety of his men, and to encourage them to repair their diſaſter. This generous motion was overruled by the council of war. The army removed ten leagues off. The chevalier de Levy, who had haſtened from his poſt to ſucceed Montcalm, cenſured this want of courage. The French were aſhamed of it, wiſhed to recal it, and make another attempt for victory, but it was too late. Quebec, though three parts deſtroyed, had capitulated too precipitately on the 17th.

All Europe thought that the taking of this place had put an end to the great conteſt in North America. They never imagined that a handful of Frenchmen, in want of every thing, who ſeemed to be in a deſperate condition, would dare to think of protracting their inevitable fate. They did not know what theſe people were capable of doing. They haſtily completed ſome intrenchments that had been begun ten leagues above Quebec. There they left troops ſufficient to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy; and proceeded to Montreal, to concert meaſures to retrieve their diſgrace.

It was there agreed, that in the ſpring they ſhould march with an armed force againſt Quebec, to retake it

by ſurpriſe, or, if that ſhould fail, to beſiege it in form. They had nothing in readineſs for that purpoſe; but the plan was ſo concerted, that they ſhould enter upon the undertaking juſt at the inſtant when the ſuccours expected from France muſt neceſſarily arrive.

Though the colony had long been in want of every thing, the preparations were already made, when the ice, which covered the whole river, began to give way towards the middle, and opened a ſmall canal. They dragged ſome boats over the ice, and put them into the water. The army, conſiſting of citizens and ſoldiers, who made but one body, and were animated with one ſoul, fell down this ſtream, with inconceivable ardour, as early as the 20th of April 1760. The Engliſh thought they ſtill lay quiet in their winter quarters. The army, already landed, came up with an advanced guard of 1,500 men, poſted three leagues from Quebec. This party was juſt upon the point of being cut to pieces, had it not been for one of thoſe unaccountable incidents which no human prudence can foreſee.

A gunner, attempting to ſtep out of his boat, had fallen into the water. He caught hold of a flake of ice, climbed up upon it, and was carried down the ſtream. As he paſſed by Quebec, cloſe to the ſhore, he was ſeen by a centinel, who, obſerving a man in diſtreſs, called out for help. The Engliſh flew to his aſſiſtance, and found him motionleſs. They knew him by his uniform to be a French ſoldier, and carried him to the governor's houſe, where, by the help of ſpiritous liquors, they recalled him to life for a moment. He juſt recovered his ſpeech enough to tell them that an army of 40,000 French was at the gates, and expired. The governor immediately diſpatched orders to the advanced guard to retire within the walls with all expedition. Notwithſtanding their precipitate retreat, the French had time to attack their rear. A few moments later, they would have been defeated and the city retaken.

The aſſailants, however, marched on with an intrepidity which indicated that they expected every thing from their valour, and thought no more of a ſurpriſe. They were within a league of the town, when they were met by a body of 4,000 men, who were ſent out to intercept them.

The onſet was ſharp, and the reſiſtance obſtinate. The Engliſh were driven back within their walls, leaving 1,800 of their braveſt men upon the ſpot, and their artillery in the enemy's hands.

The trenches were immediately opened before Quebec; but as the French had none but field-pieces, as no ſuccours came from France, and as a ſtrong Engliſh ſquadron was coming up the river, they were obliged to raiſe the ſiege on the 16th of May, and to retreat from poſt to poſt till they arrived at Montreal. Theſe troops, which were not very numerous at firſt, were now exceedingly reduced by frequent ſkirmiſhes and continual fatigues, were in want both of proviſions and warlike ſtores, and found themſelves incloſed in an open place; being ſurrounded by three formidable armies, one of which was come down, and another up the river, while the third had paſſed over lake Champlain. Theſe miſerable remains of a body of ſeven thouſand men, who had never been recruited, and had ſo much ſignalized themſelves with the help of a few militia and Indians, were at laſt forced to capitulate for the whole colony. The conqueſt was confirmed by the treaty of peace, when this country was added to the poſſeſſions of the Engliſh in North America.

Hath Canada been advantageous to England?

How confined are the views of politics! The Engliſh conſidered this acquiſition as the ultimate period of their grandeur, and the French miniſtry were not more enlightened than the Britiſh council. On one hand every thing was thought to be won by this conqueſt; on the other every thing was thought to be loſt by a ſacrifice which was to bring on the ruin of an irreconcilable enemy. Such is the neceſſary concatenation of the events which inceſſantly change the intereſts of empires, that it hath often happened, and will frequently happen hereafter, that the moſt profound ſpeculations, and the meaſures apparently the moſt prudent, have been, and will ſtill be, erroneous. The advantage of the moment is the only thing conſidered, in circumſtances where nothing is ſo common as to ſee good ſpring from evil, and evil ariſe from good. If it be true of ſome individuals, that they have for a long time wiſhed for what has proved

their misfortune; it is ſtill more true of ſovereigns. The caprices of fortune, which are ſo apt to ſport with the prudence of man, are never taken into the calculation, and indeed there is no occaſion for it, when ſome unfortunate caſualty is concealed in a diſtant and obſcure futurity; when it is almoſt devoid of probability, and when, ſuppoſing it ſhould happen, total ruin will not be the conſequence. But the people will be governed by a mad miniſtry, when, without conſidering the tranquillity and the ſafety of the ſtate, they ſhall think of nothing but its aggrandizement: when, without conſidering whether a miſerable little iſland will not occaſion cares and expences which cannot be compenſated by any advantage, they will ſuffer themſelves to be dazzled with the frivolous glory of having added it to the national dominion: when, by refuſing to make reſtitutions that were agreed upon, they ſhall cement between the uſurping power and that which is injured, a hatred which will, ſooner or later, be followed by the effuſion of blood, upon the ſea and upon the continent: when, for the preſervation of a few places, it ſhall be neceſſary to keep a number of ſoldiers ſhut up, who will grow degenerate by a long continuance in idleneſs: when laſting jealouſies ſhall be excited, or pretenſions encouraged, which are ever ready to be renewed, and to engage two nations in war with each other: when it ſhall be forgotten, that a nation ſettled between one empire and another, is ſometimes the beſt barrier that can be interpoſed between them; and that it is imprudent and dangerous to acquire, by the extinction of the intermediate nation, an ambitious, turbulent, warlike, and powerful, neighbour: when it ſhall be forgotten, that every domain, ſeparated from a ſtate by a vaſt interval, is precarious, expenſive, ill-defended, and ill-governed; that it will be, beyond any kind of doubt, a real misfortune for two nations to have any poſſeſſion on one ſide and on the other of a river which ſerves as their boundary: that to renounce a country claimed by ſeveral powers, is commonly to ſpare ſuperfluous expences, alarms, and conteſts; and that to cede it to one of thoſe who were deſirous of obtaining it, is the only way to throw the ſame calamities upon them: in a word, when it ſhall be forgotten that a ſovereign, who is really a man of genius, will perhaps diſplay it leſs in

availing himſelf of the real advantages of his country, than in giving up to rival nations deceitful advantages, the fatal conſequences of which they can only be ſenſible of in proceſs of time; this is a kind of ſnare which the rage of extending their dominions will ever conceal from them.

BOOK XVII.

ENGLISH COLONIES SETTLED AT HUDSONS BAY, CANADA, THE ISLAND OF ST. JOHN, NEWFOUNDLAND, NOVA-SCOTIA, NEW-ENGLAND, NEW-YORK, AND NEW-JERSEY.

Firſt expeditions of the Engliſh in North America.

THE deſire of penetrating into futurity hath been the paſſion of all ages. The entrails of animals, and the blood of victims, hath appeared to ſome people an infallible mode of diſcovering the deſtiny of empires. Others have placed the ſcience of divination in dreams, which they have choſen to conſider as the moſt certain interpreters of the will of Heaven. Whole nations have pretended to compel fate to reveal itſelf by the flight of birds, and other preſages equally frivolous. But, the conſulting of the ſtars hath been the moſt favourite of theſe modes of auguration. Men have thought, that in theſe they beheld, marked out in characters not to be effaced, the revolutions, more or leſs important, which were to agitate the globe. Theſe reveries had not ſubdued the minds of the vulgar only, they acquired an equal aſcendant over men of the firſt genius.

Since ſound philoſophy hath deſtroyed theſe chimeras, mankind have ſplit upon another rock. A ſpirit of preſumption, too prevalent, hath induced men to believe, that nothing was more feaſible than to determine, by combinations ſettled without much difficulty, what was to happen in politics. Undoubtedly, it was poſſible for perſons of attention and reflection to foreſee ſome events;

but how many miſtakes will not happen to one fortunate conjecture!

The Britiſh iſlands have been drenched in blood. Numberleſs factions and ſects have deſtroyed each other there, with a degree of obſtinacy, the fatal example of which hath rarely been diſplayed in the deplorable annals of the world. Who could have conjectured, that the proſperity of North America would have ariſen from ſo many calamities?

England was only known in America by her piracies, which were often ſucceſsful, and always bold, when Sir Walter Raleigh conceived the project to procure his nation a ſhare of the prodigious riches, which, for near a century paſt, had flowed from that hemiſphere into ours. This great man, who was born for bold undertakings, caſt his eye on the eaſtern coaſt of North America. The talent he had, of bringing men over to his opinion, by repreſenting all his propoſals in a ſtriking light, ſoon procured him aſſociates, both at court and among the merchants. The company that was formed in conſequence of his magnificent promiſes, obtained of government, in 1584, the abſolute diſpoſal of all the diſcoveries that ſhould be made; and without any further encouragement, they fitted out two ſhips in April following, that anchored in Roanoak bay, which now makes a part of Carolina. Their commanders, worthy of the truſt repoſed in them, behaved with remarkable affability in a country where they wanted to ſettle their nation, and left the ſavages at liberty to make their own terms in the trade they propoſed to open with them.

The reports made by theſe ſucceſsful navigators, on their return to Europe, concerning the temperature of the climate, the fertility of the ſoil, and the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, encouraged the ſociety to proceed. They accordingly ſent ſeven ſhips the following ſpring, which landed a hundred and eight free men at Roanoak, for the purpoſe of commencing a ſettlement. Part of them were murdered by the ſavages, whom they had inſulted, and the reſt, having been ſo improvident as to neglect the culture of the land, were periſhing with miſery and hunger, when a deliverer came to their relief.

This was Sir Francis Drake, ſo famous among ſeamen

for being the next after Magellan who ſailed round the globe. The abilities he had ſhewn in that great expedition, induced Queen Elizabeth to make choice of him to humble Philip II in that part of his extenſive dominions, where he uſed to diſturb the peace of other nations. Few orders were ever more punctually executed. The Engliſh fleet ſeized upon St. Jago, Carthagena, St. Domingo, and ſeveral other important places, and took a great many rich ſhips. His inſtructions were, after theſe operations, to proceed and offer his aſſiſtance to the colony at Roanoak. The wretched few who ſurvived the numberleſs calamities that had befallen them, were in ſuch deſpair, that they refuſed all aſſiſtance, and only begged that he would convey them to their native country. The admiral complied with their requeſt; and thus the expences that had been hitherto beſtowed on the ſettlement were entirely thrown away.

The aſſociates were not diſcouraged by this unforeſeen event. From time to time they ſent over a few coloniſts, who, in the year 1589, amounted to a hundred and fifteen perſons of both ſexes, under a regular government, and fully provided with all they wanted for their defence, and for the purpoſes of agriculture and commerce. Theſe beginnings raiſed ſome expectations, but they were fruſtrated by the diſgrace of Raleigh, who fell a victim to the caprices of his own wild imagination. The colony, having loſt its founder, was totally forgotten.

It had been thus neglected for twelve years, when Gofnold, one of the firſt aſſociates, reſolved to viſit it in 1602. His experience in navigation made him ſuſpect that the right track had not been found out, and that in ſteering by the Canary and Caribbee iſlands, the voyage had been made longer than it need have been by above a thouſand leagues. Theſe conjectures induced him to ſteer away from the ſouth and to turn more weſtward. The attempt ſucceeded; but when he reached the American coaſt, he found himſelf further north than any navigators who had gone before. The country where he landed, which now makes a part of New-England, afforded him plenty of beautiful furs, with which he ſailed back to England.

The rapidity and ſucceſs of this undertaking made a ſtrong impreſſion upon the Engliſh merchants. Several of them joined in 1606 to form a ſettlement in the country

that Gosnold had discovered. Their example revived in others the memory of the Roanbak; and this gave rise to two charter companies. As the continent where they were to carry on their monopoly was then known in England only by the general name of Virginia, the one was called the South Virginia, and the other the North Virginia company.

The zeal that had been shewn at first soon abated, and there appeared to be more jealousy than emulation between the two companies. Though they had been favoured with the first lottery that ever was drawn in England, their progress was so slow, that in 1614 there were not above four hundred persons in both settlements. That sort of competency which was answerable to the simplicity of the manners of the times, was then so general in England, that no one was tempted to go abroad in quest of a fortune. It is a sense of misfortune that gives men a dislike to their native country, still more than the desire of acquiring riches. Nothing less than some extraordinary commotion could then have sent inhabitants even into an excellent country. This emigration was at length occasioned by superstition, which had given rise to commotions from the collision of religious opinions.

The continent of America is peopled in consequence of the religious wars that disturb England.

The first priests of the Britons were the Druids, so famous in the annals of Gaul. To throw a mysterious veil upon the ceremonies of a savage worship, their rites were never performed but in dark recesses, and generally in gloomy groves, where fear creates spectres and apparitions. Only a few persons were initiated into these mysteries, and intrusted with the sacred doctrines; and even these were not allowed to commit any thing to writing upon this important subject, lest their secrets should fall into the hands of the profane vulgar. The altars of a formidable deity were stained with the blood of human victims, and enriched with the most precious spoils of war. Though the dread of the vengeance of Heaven was the only guard of these treasures, yet they were always deemed sacred, because the Druids had artfully repressed a thirst after riches, by inculcating the fundamental

doctrine of the endleſs tranſmigration of the ſoul. The chief authority of government was veſted in the miniſters of that terrible religion; becauſe men are more powerfully and more conſtantly ſwayed by opinion than by any other motive. They were intruſted with the education of youth, and they maintained through life the aſcendency they acquired in that early age. They took cognizance of all civil and criminal cauſes, and were as abſolute in their deciſions on ſtate affairs as on the private differences between individuals. Whoever dared to reſiſt their decrees, was not only excluded from all participation in the divine myſteries, but even from the ſociety of men. It was accounted a crime and a reproach to hold any intercourſe with him; he was irrevocably deprived of the protection of the laws, and nothing but death could put an end to his miſeries. The hiſtory of human ſuperſtitions affords no inſtance of any one ſo tyrannical as that of the Druids. It was the only one that provoked the Romans to uſe ſeverity; with ſo much violence did the Druids oppoſe the power of thoſe conquerors.

That religion, however, had loſt much of its influence, when it was totally aboliſhed by chriſtianity in the ſeventh century. The northern nations, that had ſucceſſively invaded the ſouthern provinces of Europe, had found there the ſeeds of that new religion, amidſt the ruins of an empire that was ſhaking on all ſides. Their indifference for their diſtant gods, or that credulity which is ever the companion of ignorance, induced them readily to embrace a form of worſhip which, from the multiplicity of its ceremonies, could not but attract the notice of rude and ſavage men. The Saxons, who afterwards invaded England, followed their example, and adopted without difficulty a religion that juſtified their conqueſts, expiated the criminality of them, and inſured their permanency by aboliſhing the ancient forms of worſhip.

The effects were ſuch as might be expected from a religion, the original ſimplicity of which was at that time ſo much disfigured. Idle contemplations were ſoon ſubſtituted in lieu of active and ſocial virtues, and a ſtupid veneration for unknown ſaints took place of the worſhip of the Supreme Being. Miracles dazzled the eyes of men, and diverted them from attending to natural cauſes. They

were taught to believe that prayers and offerings would atone for the moſt heinous crimes. Every ſentiment of reaſon was perverted, and every principle of morality corrupted.

Thoſe who had been the promoters of this confuſion knew how to avail themſelves of it. The prieſts obtained that reſpect which was denied to kings, and their perſons became ſacred. The magiſtrate had no power of inſpecting into their conduct, and they even evaded the watchfulneſs of the civil law. Their tribunal eluded, and even ſuperſeded, all others. They found means to introduce religion into every queſtion of law, and into all ſtate affairs; and made themſelves umpires or judges in every cauſe. When faith ſpoke, every one liſtened in ſilent attention to its inexplicable oracles. Such was the infatuation of thoſe dark ages, that the ſcandalous exceſſes of the clergy did not diminiſh their authority.

This authority was maintained by the immenſe riches the clergy had already acquired. As ſoon as they had taught that religion was preſerved principally by ſacrifices, and required firſt of all that of fortune and earthly poſſeſſions, the nobility, who were ſole proprietors of all eſtates, employed their ſlaves to build churches, and allotted their lands to the endowment of thoſe foundations. Kings gave to the church all that they had extorted from the people; and ſtripped themſelves to ſuch a degree, as even not to leave a ſufficiency for the payment of the army, or for defraying the other charges of government. Theſe deficiencies were never made up by thoſe who were the cauſe of them. They were not concerned in any of the public expences. The payment of taxes with the revenues of the church would have been a ſacrilege, and a proſtitution of holy things to profane purpoſes. Such was the declaration of the clergy, and the laity believed them. The poſſeſſion of the third part of the feudal tenures in the kingdom, the free-will offerings of a deluded people, and the large fees required for all prieſtly offices, did not ſatisfy the enormous avidity of the clergy, ever attentive to their own intereſt. They found in the Old Teſtament, that, by divine appointment, they had an undoubted right to the tithes of the produce of the land. This claim was ſo readily admitted, that they extended it to the tithe of induſtry, of the

profits on trade, of the wages of labourers, of the pay of ſoldiers, and ſometimes of the ſalaries of placemen.

Rome, which at firſt was a ſilent ſpectator of theſe proceedings, and proudly enjoyed the ſucceſs that attended the rich and haughty miniſters of a Saviour born in obſcurity, and condemned to an ignominious death, ſoon coveted a ſhare in the ſpoils of England. The firſt ſtep ſhe took was to open a trade for relics, which were always uſhered in with ſome ſtriking miracle, and ſold in proportion to the credulity of the purchaſers. The great men, and even monarchs, were invited to go in pilgrimage to the capital of the world, to purchaſe a place in heaven ſuitable to the rank they held on earth. The popes by degrees aſſumed the preſentation to church preferments, which at firſt they gave away, but afterwards ſold. By theſe means their tribunal took cognizance of all eccleſiaſtical cauſes; and in time they claimed a tenth of the revenues of the clergy, who themſelves levied the tenth of all the ſubſtance of the realm.

When theſe pious extortions were carried as far as they poſſibly could be in England, Rome aſpired to the ſupreme authority over it. Her ambitious deceit was covered with a ſacred veil. She ſapped the foundations of liberty, by employing the influence of opinion only. This was ſetting men at variance with themſelves, and availing herſelf of their prejudices, in order to acquire an abſolute dominion over them. She uſurped the power of a deſpotic arbitrator between the altar and the throne, between the prince and his ſubjects, between one potentate and another. She kindled the flames of war with her ſpiritual thunders. But ſhe wanted emiſſaries to ſpread the terror of her arms, and made choice of the monks for that purpoſe. The ſecular clergy, notwithſtanding their celibacy, which kept them from forming connections in the world, were ſtill attached to it by the ties of intereſt, often ſtronger than thoſe of blood. A ſet of men, ſecluded from ſociety by ſingular inſtitutions, which muſt incline them to fanaticiſm, and by a blind ſubmiſſion to the dictates of a foreign pontiff, were beſt adapted to ſecond the views of ſuch a ſovereign. Theſe vile and abject tools of ſuperſtition executed their fatal employment ſucceſsfully. By their intrigues, aſſiſted with the concurrence of favourable circumſtances, England, which had ſo

long withſtood the conquering arms of the ancient Roman empire, became tributary to modern Rome.

At length the paſſions and violent caprices of Henry VIII broke the ſcandalous dependence. The abuſe of ſo infamous a power had already opened the eyes of the nation. This prince ventured at once to ſhake off the authority of the pope, aboliſh monaſteries, and aſſume the ſupremacy over his own church.

This open ſchiſm was followed by other alterations in the reign of Edward, ſon and ſucceſſor to Henry. The religious opinions, which were then changing the face of Europe, were openly diſcuſſed. Something was taken from every one; many doctrines and rites of the old form of worſhip were retained; and from theſe ſeveral ſyſtems or tenets aroſe a new communion, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Church of England. Elizabeth, who completed this important work, found theory alone too ſubtle, and thought it moſt expedient to captivate the ſenſes, by the addition of ſome ceremonies. Her natural taſte for grandeur, and the deſire of putting a ſtop to the diſputes about points of doctrine, by entertaining the eye with the external parade of worſhip, inclined her to adopt a greater number of religious rites. But ſhe was reſtrained by political conſiderations, and was obliged to ſacrifice ſomething to the prejudices of a party that had raiſed her to the throne, and was able to maintain her upon it.

Far from ſuſpecting that James I would execute what Elizabeth had not even dared to attempt, it might be expected that he would rather have been inclined to reſtrain eccleſiaſtical rites and ceremonies; that prince having been trained up in the principles of the preſbyterians, a ſect which, with much ſpiritual pride, affected great ſimplicity of dreſs, gravity of manners, and auſterity of doctrine, which loved to ſpeak in ſcripture phraſes, and gave none but ſcripture names to their children. One would have ſuppoſed that ſuch an education muſt have prejudiced the king againſt the outward pomp of the catholic worſhip, and every thing that bore any affinity to it. But the ſpirit of ſyſtem prevailed over the principles of education. Stricken with the epiſcopal juriſdiction which he found eſtabliſhed in England, and which he thought conformable to his own notions of civil government, he abandoned from conviction, the

early impreſſions he had received, and grew paſſionately fond of a hierarchy modelled upon the political economy of a well conſtituted empire. Inſtigated by his enthuſiaſm, he wanted to introduce this wonderful ſyſtem into Scotland, his native country, and to engage a great many of the Engliſh, who ſtill diſſented, to embrace it. He even intended to add the pomp of the moſt awful ceremonies to the majeſtic plan, if he could have carried his grand projects into execution. But the oppoſition he met with at firſt ſetting out would not permit him to advance any further in his ſyſtem of reformation. He contented himſelf with recommending to his ſon to reſume his views, whenever the times ſhould furniſh a favourable opportunity; and repreſented the preſbyterians to him as alike dangerous to religion and to the throne.

Charles readily followed his advice, which was but too conformable to the principles of deſpotiſm he had imbibed from Buckingham, his favourite, the moſt corrupt of men, and the corrupter of the courtiers. To pave the way to the revolution he was meditating, he promoted ſeveral biſhops to the higheſt dignities in the government, and conferred on them moſt of the offices that imparted a great ſhare of influence in all public meaſures. Theſe ambitious prelates, now become the maſters of a prince who had been weak enough to be guided by the inſtigations of others, betrayed that ſpirit ſo frequent among the clergy, of exalting eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction under the ſhadow of the royal prerogative. They multiplied the church ceremonies without end, under pretence of their being of apoſtolical inſtitution; and to enforce their obſervance, had recourſe to acts of arbitrary power exerciſed by the king. It was evident that there was a ſettled deſign of reſtoring, in all its ſplendour, what the proteſtants called Romiſh idolatry, though the moſt violent means ſhould be neceſſary to compaſs it. This project gave the more umbrage, as it was ſupported by the prejudices and intrigues of a preſumptuous queen, who had brought from France an immoderate paſſion for popery and arbitrary power.

It can ſcarcely be imagined what acrimony theſe alarming ſuſpicions had raiſed in the minds of the people. Common prudence would have allowed time for the ferment to ſubſide. But the ſpirit of fanaticiſm endeavoured, even in-

theſe troubleſome times, to reſtore every thing to the unity of the church of England, which was become more odious to the diſſenters, ſince ſo many cuſtoms had been introduced into it which they conſidered as ſuperſtitious. An order was iſſued, that both kingdoms ſhould conform to the worſhip and diſcipline of the epiſcopal church. This law included the preſbyterians, who then began to be called puritans, becauſe they profeſſed to take the pure and ſimple word of God for the rule of their faith and practice. It was extended likewiſe to all the foreign calviniſts that were in the kingdom, whatever difference there might be in their opinions. This hierarchal worſhip was enjoined to the regiments and trading companies diſperſed in the ſeveral countries of Europe. The Engliſh ambaſſadors were alſo required to ſeparate from all communion with the foreign proteſtants, ſo that England loſt all the influence ſhe had acquired abroad, as the head and ſupport of the reformation.

In this fatal criſis, moſt of the puritans were divided between ſubmiſſion and oppoſition. Thoſe who would neither ſtoop to yield, nor take the pains to reſiſt, turned their views towards North America, in ſearch of that civil and religious liberty which their ungrateful country denied them. Their enemies, in order to have an opportunity of perſecuting them more at leiſure, attempted to preclude theſe devout fugitives from this aſylum, where they wanted to worſhip God in their own way in a deſert land. Eight ſhips that lay at anchor in the Thames, ready to ſail, were ſtopped; and Cromwell is ſaid to have been detained there by that very king whom he afterwards brought to the ſcaffold. Enthuſiaſm, however, ſtronger than the rage of perſecution, ſurmounted every obſtacle; and that part of America was ſoon filled with preſbyterians. The ſatisfaction they enjoyed in their retreat gradually induced all thoſe of their party to follow them, who were not ſo evil-minded as to delight in the view of thoſe dreadful ſcenes which ſoon after made England a ſcene of blood and horror. Many were afterwards induced to remove thither in more peaceable times, with a view of advancing their fortunes. In a word, all Europe contributed greatly to increaſe their population. Thouſands of unhappy men, oppreſſed by the tyranny or intolerant ſpirit of their ſo-

vereigns, took refuge in that hemiſphere; concerning which we ſhall now purſue our inquiries, and endeavour before we quit the ſpot, to gain ſome information reſpecting it.

Parallel between the Old and the New World.

It is ſurpriſing that ſo little ſhould have been known of the New World, for ſo long a time after it was diſcovered. Barbarous ſoldiers and rapacious merchants were not proper perſons to give us juſt and clear notions of this hemiſphere. It was the province of philoſophy alone to avail itſelf of the information ſcattered in the accounts of voyages and miſſionaries, in order to ſee America ſuch as nature hath made it, and to find out its analogy to the reſt of the globe.

It is now pretty certain, that the new continent has not half the extent of ſurface that the old has. At the ſame time, the form of both is ſo ſingularly alike, that we might eaſily be inclined to draw conſequences from this particular, if it were not always neceſſary to be upon our guard againſt the ſpirit of ſyſtem which often ſtops us in our reſearches after truth, and hinders us from attaining it.

The two continents ſeem to form, as it were, two broad tracts of land, that begin from the arctic pole, and terminate at the tropic of Capricorn, divided on the eaſt and weſt by the ocean that ſurrounds them. Whatever may be the ſtructure of theſe two continents, and the quality or ſymmetry of their form, it is evident that their equilibrium does not depend upon their poſition. It is the inconſtancy of the ſea that conſtitutes the ſolid form of the earth. To fix the globe upon its baſis, it ſeemed neceſſary to have an element which, floating inceſſantly round our planet, might by its weight counterbalance all other ſubſtances, and by its fluidity reſtore that equilibrium which the conflict of the other elements might have diſturbed. Water, by its natural fluctuation and weight, is the moſt proper element to preſerve the connection and balance of the ſeveral parts of the globe round its centre. If our hemiſphere has a very wide extent of continent to the north, a maſs of water of equal weight at the oppoſite part will certainly produce an equilibrium. If under the tropics we have a rich country covered with men and animals, under the ſame latitude America will have a ſea filled with fiſh. While foreſts full

of trees, bending with the largeſt fruits, quadrupeds of the greateſt ſize, the moſt populous nations, elephants and men, are a load upon the ſurface of the earth, and ſeem to abſorb all its fertility throughout the torrid zone; at both poles are found whales, with innumerable multitudes of cods and herrings, clouds of inſects, and all the infinite and prodigious tribes that inhabit the ſeas, as it were, to ſupport the axis of the earth, and prevent its inclining or deviating to either ſide: if, indeed, elephants, whales, or men, can be ſaid to have any weight on a globe, where all living creatures are but a tranſient modification of the earth that compoſes it. In a word, the ocean rolls over this globe to faſhion it, in conformity to the general laws of gravity. Sometimes it covers a hemiſphere, a pole, or a zone, which at other times it leaves bare; but in general it ſeems to effect the equator, more eſpecially as the cold of the poles in ſome meaſure contracts that fluidity which is eſſential to it, and from which it receives all its power of motion. It is chiefly between the tropics that the ſea extends itſelf, and is agitated; and that it undergoes the greateſt change, both in its regular and periodical motions, as well as in thoſe violent agitations occaſionally excited in it by tempeſtuous winds. The attraction of the ſun, and the fermentations occaſioned by its continual heat in the torrid zone, muſt have a very remarkable influence upon the ocean. The motion of the moon adds a new force to this influence; and the ſea, to conform itſelf to this double impulſe, muſt, it would ſeem, flow towards the equator. Nothing but the flatneſs of the globe at the poles can poſſibly account for that immenſe extent of water that has hitherto concealed from us the lands near the ſouth pole. The ſea cannot eaſily paſs the boundaries of the tropics, if the temperate and frozen zones be not nearer to the centre of the earth than the torrid zone. It is the ſea therefore, that maintains an equilibrium with the land, and diſpoſes the arrangement of the materials that compoſe it. One proof that the analagous portions of land, which the two continents of the globe preſent at firſt view, are not eſſentially neceſſary to its conformation, is, that the New Hemiſphere has remained covered with the waters of the ſea a much longer time than the Old. Beſides, if there be an evident ſimilarity between the two hemiſpheres, there are

alſo differences between them, which will perhaps deſtroy that harmony we think we obſerve.

When we conſider the map of the world, and ſee the local correſpondence between the iſthmus of Suez and that of Panama, between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn, between the archipelago of the Eaſt-Indies and that of the Caribbee iſlands, and between the mountains of Chili and thoſe of Monomotapa, we are ſtricken with the ſimilarity of the ſeveral forms this picture preſents. Land ſeems on all ſides to be oppoſed to land, water to water, iſlands and peninſulas ſcattered by the hand of nature to ſerve as a counterpoiſe, and the ſea, by its fluctuation, conſtantly maintaining the balance of the whole. But if, on the other hand, we compare the great extent of the Pacific ocean, which ſeparates the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, with the ſmall ſpace which the ocean occupies between the coaſt of Guinea and that of Brazil; the vaſt quantity of inhabited land to the north, with the little we know towards the ſouth; the direction of the mountains of Tartary and Europe, which is from eaſt to weſt, with that of the Cordeleirias, which run from north to ſouth; the mind is in ſuſpenſe, and we have the mortification to ſee the order and ſymmetry vaniſh, with which we had embelliſhed our ſyſtem of the earth. The obſerver is ſtill more diſpleaſed with his conjectures, when he conſiders the immenſe height of the mountains of Peru. He is then aſtoniſhed to ſee a continent ſo recent, and yet ſo elevated; the ſea ſo much below the tops of theſe mountains, and yet ſo recently come down from the lands that ſeemed to be effectually defended from its attacks by thoſe tremendous bulwarks. It is, however, an undeniable fact, that both continents of the New Hemiſphere have been covered with the ſea. The air and the land confirm this truth.

The rivers, which in America are wider and of greater extent; the immenſe foreſts to the ſouth; the ſpacious lakes and vaſt moraſſes to the north; the almoſt eternal ſnows between the tropics; few of thoſe pure ſands that ſeem to be the remains of an exhauſted ground; no men entirely black; very fair people under the line; a cool and mild air in the ſame latitude as the ſultry and uninhabitable parts of Africa; a frozen and ſevere climate under the ſame parallel as our temperate climates; and laſtly, a difference

of ten or twelve degrees in the temperature of the Old and New Hemiſpheres; theſe are ſo many tokens of a world that is ſtill in its infancy.

Why ſhould the continent of America be much warmer and much colder in proportion than that of Europe, if it were not for the moiſture the ocean has left behind, in quitting it long after our continent was peopled? Nothing but the ſea can poſſibly have prevented Mexico from being inhabited as early as Aſia. If the waters that ſtill moiſten the bowels of the earth in the New Hemiſphere had not covered its ſurface, the woods would very eaſily have been cut down, the fens drained, a ſoft and watery ſoil would have been made firm, by ſtirring it up, and expoſing it to the rays of the ſun, a free paſſage would have been open to the winds, and dikes would have been raiſed along the rivers; in a word, the climate would have been totally altered by this time. But a rude and unpeopled hemiſphere denotes a recent world; when the ſea about its coaſts ſtill flows obſcurely in its channels. A leſs ſcorching ſun, more plentiful rains, and thicker vapours, more diſpoſed to ſtagnate, are evident marks of the decay or the infancy of nature.

The difference of climate, ariſing from the waters having lain ſo long on the ground in America, could not but have a great influence on men and animals. From this diverſity of cauſes muſt neceſſarily ariſe a very great diverſity of effects. Accordingly, we ſee more ſpecies of animals, by two thirds, in the old continent than the new; animals of the ſame kind conſiderably larger; monſters that are become more ſavage and fierce, as the countries have become more inhabited. On the other hand, nature ſeems to have ſtrangely neglected the New World. The men have leſs ſtrength and leſs courage; no beard and no hair; they have leſs appearances of manhood; and are but little ſuſceptible of the lively and powerful ſentiment of love, which is the principle of every attachment, the firſt inſtinct, the firſt band of ſociety, without which all other artificial ties have neither energy nor duration. The women, who are ſtill more weak, are neither favourably treated by nature nor by the men, who have but little love for them, and conſider them merely as ſubſervient to their will: they rather ſacrifice them to their indolence, than conſecrate

them to their pleaſures. This indolence is the great delight and ſupreme felicity of the Americans, of which the women are the victims, from the continual labours impoſed upon them. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that in America, as in all other parts, the men, when they have ſentenced the women to work, have been ſo equitable as to take upon themſelves the perils of war, together with the toils of hunting and fiſhing. But their indifference for the ſex, which nature has intruſted with the care of multiplying the ſpecies, implies an imperfection in their organs, a ſort of ſtate of childhood in the people of America, ſimilar to that of the people in our continent, who are not yet arrived to the age of puberty. This ſeems to be a natural defect prevailing in the continent of America, which is an indication of its being a new country.

But if the Americans be a new people, are they a race of men originally diſtinct from thoſe who cover the face of the Old World? This is a queſtion which ought not to be too haſtily decided. The origin of the population of America is involved in inextricable difficulties. If we aſſert that the Greenlanders firſt came from Norway, and then went over to the coaſt of Labrador, others will tell us, it is more natural to ſuppoſe that the Greenlanders are ſprung from the Eſquimaux, to whom they bear a greater reſemblance than to the Europeans. If we ſhould ſuppoſe that California was peopled from Kamtſchatka, it may be aſked, what motive or what chance could have led the Tartars to the north-weſt of America? Yet it is imagined to be from Greenland or from Kamtſchatka that the inhabitants of the Old World muſt have gone over to the New, as it is by thoſe two countries that the two continents are connected, or at leaſt approach neareſt to one another. Beſides, how can we conceive that in America the torrid zone can have been peopled from one of the frozen zones? Population will indeed ſpread from north to ſouth, but it muſt naturally have begun under the equator, where life is cheriſhed by warmth. If the people of America could not come from our continent, and yet appear to be a new race, we muſt have recourſe to the flood, which is the ſource and the ſolution of all difficulties in the hiſtory of nations.

Let us ſuppoſe that the ſea having overflowed the other hemiſphere, its old inhabitants took refuge upon the Apalachian mountains, and the Cordeleirias, which are far higher than our Mount Ararat. But how could they have lived upon thoſe heights, covered with ſnow, and ſurrounded with waters? How is it poſſible that men, who had breathed in a pure and delightful climate, could have ſurvived the miſeries of want, the inclemency of a tainted atmoſphere, and thoſe numberleſs calamities which muſt be the unavoidable conſequences of a deluge? How will the race have been preſerved and propagated in thoſe times of general calamity, and in the miſerable ages that muſt have ſucceeded? Notwithſtanding all theſe objections, we muſt allow that America has been peopled from theſe wretched remains of the great devaſtation. Every thing exhibits the veſtiges of a malady, of which the human race ſtill feels the effects. The ruin of that world is ſtill imprinted on its inhabitants. They are a ſpecies of men degraded and degenerated in their natural conſtitution, in their ſtature, in their way of life, and in their underſtanding, which is but little advanced in all the arts of civilization. A damper air, and a more marſhy ground, muſt neceſſarily have infected the firſt principles of the ſubſiſtence and increaſe of mankind. It muſt have required ſome ages to reſtore population, and ſtill a greater number before the ground could be ſettled and dried, ſo as to be fit for tillage, and for the foundation of buildings. The air muſt neceſſarily be purified before the ſky could clear, and the ſky muſt neceſſarily be clear before the earth could be rendered habitable. The imperfection, therefore, of nature in America is not ſo much a proof of its recent origin, as of its regeneration. It was probably peopled at the ſame time as the other hemiſphere, but may have been overflowed later. The large foſſil bones that are found under ground in America, ſhew that it had formerly elephants, rhinoceros, and other enormous quadrupeds, which have ſince diſappeared in thoſe regions. The gold and ſilver mines that are found juſt below the ſurface of the earth, are ſigns of a very ancient revolution of the globe, but later than thoſe that have overturned our hemiſphere.

Suppoſe America had, by ſome means or other, been re-peopled by our roving hordes, that period would have

been ſo remote, that it would ſtill give great antiquity to the inhabitants of that hemiſphere. Three or four centuries will not then be ſufficient to allow for the foundation of the empire of Mexico and Peru; for, though we find no trace in theſe countries of our arts, or of the opinions and cuſtoms that prevail in other parts of the globe, yet we have found a police and a ſociety eſtabliſhed, inventions and practices which, though they did not ſhew any marks of times anterior to the deluge, yet they implied a long ſeries of ages ſubſequent to this cataſtrophe. For, though in Mexico, as in Egypt, a country ſurrounded with waters, mountains, and other invincible obſtacles, muſt have forced the men incloſed in it to unite after a time, notwithſtanding they might at firſt have deſtroyed each other in continual and bloody wars, yet it was only in proceſs of time that they could invent and eſtabliſh a form of worſhip and a legiſlation which they could not poſſibly have borrowed from remote times or countries. It required a greater number of ages to render familiar the ſingle art of ſpeech, and that of writing, though but in heiroglyphics, to a whole nation unconnected with any other, and which muſt itſelf have created both theſe arts, than it would take up days to perfect a child in them. Ages bear not the ſame proportion to the whole race as years do to individuals. The whole race is to occupy a vaſt field, both as to ſpace and duration, while the individuals have only ſome moments or inſtants of time to fill up, or rather to run over. The likeneſs or uniformity obſervable in the features and manners of the American nations, plainly ſhew that they are not ſo ancient as thoſe of our continent, which differ ſo much from each other; but at the ſame time, this circumſtance ſeems to confirm that they did not proceed from any foreign hemiſphere, with which they have no kind of affinity that can indicate an immediate deſcent.

Compariſon between civilized people and ſavages.

WHATEVER may be the caſe with regard to their origin or their antiquity, which are both uncertain, it is perhaps more intereſting to inquire whether thoſe untutored nations are more or leſs happy than our civilized people. Let us, therefore, examine whe-

ther the condition of rude man, left to mere animal inſtinct, who paſſes every day of his life in hunting, feeding, producing his ſpecies, and repoſing himſelf, is better or worſe than the condition of that wonderful being, who makes his bed of down, ſpins and weaves the thread of the ſilk-worm to clothe himſelf, hath exchanged the cave, his original abode, for a palace, and hath varied his indulgences and his wants in a thouſand different ways.

It is in the nature of man that we muſt look for his means of happineſs. What does he want to be as happy as he can be? Preſent ſubſiſtence; and if he ſhould think of futurity, the hopes and certainty of enjoying that bleſſing. The ſavage, who has not been driven into and confined within the frigid zones by civilized ſocieties, is not in want of this firſt of neceſſaries. If he ſhould lay in no ſtores, it is becauſe the earth and the ſea are reſervoirs always open to ſupply his wants. Fiſh and game are to be had all the year, and will ſupply the want of fertility in the dead ſeaſons. The ſavage has no houſe, well ſecured from the acceſs of the external air, or commodious fire-places; but his furs anſwer all the purpoſes of the roof, the garment, and the ſtove. He works but for his own benefit, ſleeps when he is weary, and is a ſtranger to watchings and reſtleſs nights. War is a matter of choice to him. Danger, like labour, is a condition of his nature, not a profeſſion annexed to his birth; a national duty, not a domeſtic ſervitude. The ſavage is ſerious, but not melancholy; and his countenance ſeldom bears the impreſſion of thoſe paſſions and diſorders that leave ſuch ſhocking and fatal marks on ours. He cannot feel the want of what he does not deſire, nor can he deſire what he is ignorant of. Moſt of the conveniencies of life are remedies for evils he does not feel. Pleaſure is the mode of ſatisfying appetites which his ſenſes are unacquainted with. He ſeldom experiences any of that wearineſs that ariſes from unſatisfied deſires, or that emptineſs and uneaſineſs of mind that is the offspring of prejudice and vanity. In a word, the ſavage is ſubject to none but natural evils.

But what greater happineſs than this does the civilized man enjoy? His food is more wholeſome and delicate than that of the ſavage. He has ſofter clothes, and a habitation better ſecured againſt the inclemencies of the weather.

But the common people, who are to be the ſupport and baſis of civil ſociety, thoſe numbers of men who in all ſtates bear the burthen of hard labour, cannot be ſaid to live happy, either in thoſe empires where the conſequences of war and the imperfection of the police have reduced them to a ſtate of ſlavery, or in thoſe governments where the progreſs of luxury and police has reduced them to a ſtate of ſervitude. The mixed governments ſeem to preſent ſome proſpects of happineſs under the protection of liberty; but this happineſs is purchaſed by the moſt ſanguinary exertions, which repel tyranny for a time only, that it may fall the heavier upon the devoted nation, ſooner or later doomed to oppreſſion. Obſerve how Caligula and Nero revenged the expulſion of the Tarquins, and the death of Cæſar.

Tyranny, we are told, is the work of the people, and not of kings. But if ſo, why do they ſuffer it? Why do they not repel the encroachments of deſpotiſm; and, while it employs violence and artifice to enſlave all the faculties of men, why do they not oppoſe it with all their powers? But is it lawful to murmer and complain under the rod of the oppreſſor? Will it not exaſperate and provoke him to purſue the victim to death? The complaints of ſlaves he calls rebellion; and they are to be ſtifled in a dungeon, and ſometimes put an end to on a ſcaffold. The man who ſhould aſſert the rights of man would periſh in neglect and infamy. Tyranny, therefore, muſt be endured, under the name of authority.

If ſo, to what outrages is not the civilized man expoſed! If he be poſſeſſed of any property, he knows not how far he may call it his own, when he muſt divide the produce between the courtier who may attack his eſtate, the lawyer who muſt be paid for teaching him how to preſerve it, the ſoldier who may lay it waſte, and the collector who comes to levy unlimited taxes. If he ſhould have no property, how can he be aſſured of a permanent ſubſiſtence? What ſpecies of induſtry is ſecured againſt the viciſſitudes of fortune, and the encroachments of government?

In the foreſts of America, if there be a ſcarcity in the north, the ſavages bend their courſe to the ſouth. The wind or the ſun will drive a wandering clan to more temperate climates. But if in our civilized ſtates, confined within gates, and reſtrained within certain limits, famine,

war, or peſtilence, ſhould conſume an empire, it is a priſon where all muſt expect to periſh in miſery, or in the horrors of ſlaughter. The man who is unfortunately born there, is compelled to endure all extortions, all the ſeverities that the inclemency of the ſeaſons and the injuſtice of government may bring upon him.

In our provinces, the vaſſal, or free mercenary, digs and and ploughs, the whole year round, lands that are not his own, and the produce of which does not belong to him; and he is even happy if his labour can procure him a ſhare of the crops he has ſown and reaped. Obſerved and haraſſed by a hard and reſtleſs landlord, who grudges him even the ſtraw on which he reſts his weary limbs, the wretch is daily expoſed to diſeaſes, which, joined to his poverty, make him wiſh for death, rather than for an expenſive cure, followed by infirmities and toil. Whether tenant or ſubject, he is doubly a ſlave; if he ſhould poſſeſs a few acres, his lord comes and gathers upon them what he has not ſown; if he be worth but a yoke of oxen or a pair of horſes, he muſt employ them in the public ſervice; if he ſhould have nothing but his perſon, the prince takes him for a ſoldier. Everywhere he meets with maſters, and always with oppreſſion.

In our cities, the workmen and the artiſt who have no manufacture of their own are at the mercy of greedy and idle maſters, who, by the privilege of monopoly, have purchaſed of government a power of making induſtry work for nothing, and of ſelling its labours at a very high price. The lower claſs have no more than the ſight of that luxury of which they are doubly the victims, by the watchings and fatigues it occaſions them, and by the inſolence of the pomp that humiliates and oppreſſes them.

Even ſuppoſing that the dangerous labours of our quarries, mines, and forges, with all the arts that are performed by fire, and that the perils which navigation and commerce expoſe us to, were leſs pernicious than the roving life of the ſavages, who live upon hunting and fiſhing; ſuppoſe that men, who are ever lamenting the ſorrows and affronts that ariſe merely from opinion, are leſs unhappy than the ſavages, who never ſhed a tear in the moſt excruciating tortures; there would ſtill remain a wide difference between the fate of the civilized man and the wild Indian,

a difference entirely to the diſadvantage of ſocial life. This is the injuſtice that prevails in the partial diſtribution of fortunes and ſtations; an inequality which is at once the effect and the cauſe of oppreſſion.

In vain does cuſtom, prejudice, ignorance, and hard labour, ſtupify the lower claſs of mankind, ſo as to render them inſenſible of their degradation; neither religion nor morality can hinder them from ſeeing and feeling the injuſtice of the arrangements of policy in the diſtribution of good and evil. How often have we heard the poor man expoſtulating with Heaven, and aſking what he had done, that he ſhould deſerve to be born in an indigent and dependent ſtation? Even if great conflicts were inſeparable from the more exalted ſtations, which might be ſufficient to balance all the advantages and all the ſuperiority that the ſocial ſtate claims over the ſtate of nature, ſtill the obſcure man, who is unacquainted with thoſe conflicts, ſees nothing in a high rank, but that affluence which is the cauſe of his own poverty. He envies the rich man thoſe pleaſures to which he is ſo accuſtomed, that he has loſt all reliſh for them. What domeſtic can have a real affection for his maſter, or what is the attachment of a ſervant? Was ever prince truly beloved by his courtiers, even when he was hated by his ſubjects? If we prefer our condition to that of the ſavages, it is becauſe civil life has made us incapable of bearing ſome natural hardſhips which the ſavage is more expoſed to than we are, and becauſe we are attached to ſome indulgences that cuſtom has made neceſſary to us. Even in the vigour of life, a civilized man may accuſtom himſelf to live among ſavages and return to the ſtate of nature. We have an inſtance of this in that Scotſman who was caſt away on the iſland of Fernandez, where he lived alone, and was happy as ſoon as he was ſo taken up with ſupplying his wants, as to forget his own country, his language, his name, and even the articulation of words. After four years, he felt himſelf eaſed of the burthen of ſocial life, when he had loſt all reflection or thought of the paſt, and all anxiety for the future.

Laſtly, the conſciouſneſs of independence being one of the firſt inſtincts in man, he who enjoys this primitive right, with a moral certainty of a competent ſubſiſtence, is incomparably happier than the rich man, reſtrained by laws,

maſters, prejudices, and faſhions, which inceſſantly remind him of the loſs of his liberty. To compare the ſtate of the ſavages to that of children, is to decide at once the queſtion that has been ſo warmly debated by philoſophers, concerning the advantages of the ſtate of nature above thoſe of ſocial life. Children, notwithſtanding the reſtraints of education, are in the happieſt age of human life. Their habitual cheerfulneſs, when they are not under the ſchool-maſter's rod, is the ſureſt indication of the happineſs they feel. After all, a ſingle word may determine this great queſtion. Let us aſk the civilized man whether he be happy, and the ſavage whether he be unhappy. If they both anſwer in the negative, the diſpute is at an end.

Ye civilized nations, this parallel muſt certainly be mortifying to you! but you cannot too ſtrongly feel the weight of the calamities under which you are oppreſſed. The more painful the ſenſation is, the more will it awaken your attention to the true cauſes of your ſufferings. You may at laſt be convinced that they proceed from the confuſion of your opinions, from the defects of your political conſtitutions, and from capricious laws, which are in continual oppoſition to the laws of nature.

After this inquiry into the moral ſtate of the Americans, let us return to the natural ſtate of their country. Let us ſee what it was before the arrival of the Engliſh, and what it is become under their dominion.

State in which the Engliſh found North America.

THE firſt Engliſhmen who went over to America to ſettle colonies, found immenſe foreſts. The vaſt trees that grew up to the clouds, were ſo ſurrounded with creeping plants, that they could not be approached. The wild beaſts made theſe woods ſtill more inacceſſible. A few ſavages only were met with, clothed with the ſkins of thoſe monſters. The human race, thinly ſcattered, fled from each other, or purſued only with intent to deſtroy. The earth ſeemed uſeleſs to man, and its powers were not exerted ſo much for his ſupport, as in the breeding of animals, more obedient to the laws of nature. It produced ſpontaneouſly without aſſiſtance and without direction; it yielded all its bounties with uncontrouled profuſion for the benefit of all, not for the pleaſures or con-

veniencies of one ſpecies of beings. The rivers in one place glided freely through the foreſts, in another, ſcattered their unruffled waters in a wide moraſs, from whence, iſſuing in various ſtreams, they formed a multitude of iſlands, encompaſſed with their channels. Spring was renewed from the decay of autumn. The withered leaves, rotting at the foot of the trees, ſupplied them with freſh ſap to enable them to ſhoot out new bloſſoms. The hollow trunks of trees afforded a retreat to prodigious numbers of birds. The ſea, daſhing againſt the coaſts, and indenting the gulfs, threw up ſholes of amphibious monſters, enormous whales, crabs, and turtles, that ſported uncontrouled on the deſert ſhores. There nature exerted her plaſtic power, inceſſantly producing the gigantic inhabitants of the ocean, and aſſerting the freedom of the earth and the ſea.

But man appeared, and immediately changed the face of North America. He introduced ſymmetry by the aſſiſtance of all the inſtruments of art. The impenetrable woods were inſtantly cleared, and made room for commodious dwellings. The wild beaſts were driven away, and flocks of domeſtic animals ſupplied their place; while thorns and briars made way for rich harveſts. The waters forſook part of their domain, and were drained off into the interior parts of the land, or into the ſea by deep canals. The coaſts were covered with towns, and the bays with ſhips; and thus the New World, like the Old, became ſubject to man. What powerful engines have raiſed that wonderful ſtructure of European induſtry and policy? Let us reſume the conſideration of the particulars. In the remoteſt part ſtands a ſolitary ſpot, diſtinct from the whole, and which is called Hudſons bay.

Climate of Hudſons bay, and cuſtoms and trade of its inhabitants.

THIS ſtrait, of about ten degrees in depth, is formed by the ocean in the diſtant and northern parts of America. The breadth of the entrance is ſix leagues, but it is only to be attempted from the beginning of July to the end of September, and is even then rather dangerous. This danger ariſes from mountains of ice, ſome of which are ſaid to be from 15 to 18 hundred feet thick, and which having been produced by winters of five or ſix years duration in little gulfs conſtantly filled with

ſnow, are forced out of them by north-weſt winds, or by ſome other extraordinary cauſe. The beſt way of avoiding them is to keep as near as poſſible to the northern coaſt, which muſt neceſſarily be leſs obſtructed and moſt free by the natural direction of both winds and currents.

The north-weſt wind, which blows almoſt conſtantly in winter, and very often in ſummer, frequently raiſes violent ſtorms within the bay itſelf, which is rendered ſtill more dangerous by the number of ſhoals that are found there. Happily, however, ſmall groups of iſlands are met with at different diſtances, which are of a ſufficient height to afford a ſhelter from the ſtorm. Beſide theſe ſmall archipelagoes, there are in many places large piles of bare rock. Except the alga marina, the bay produces as few vegetables as the other northern ſeas.

Throughout all the countries ſurrounding this bay, the ſun never riſes or ſets without forming a great cone of light; this phenomenon is ſucceeded by the aurora borealis, which tinges the hemiſphere with coloured rays of ſuch brilliancy, that the ſplendour of them is not effaced even by that of the full moon. Notwithſtanding this, there is ſeldom a bright ſky. In ſpring and autumn, the air is always filled with thick fogs, and in winter, with an infinite number of ſmall icicles. Though the heats in the ſummer be rather conſiderable for ſix weeks or two months, there is ſeldom any thunder or lightning, owing, no doubt to the great diſperſion of the ſulphureous exhalations, which, however, are ſometimes ſet on fire by the aurora borealis; and this light flame conſumes the barks of the trees, but leaves their trunks untouched.

One of the effects of the extreme cold or ſnow that prevails in this climate, is that of turning thoſe animals white in winter which are naturally brown or grey. Nature has beſtowed upon them all, ſoft, long, and thick, furs, the hair of which falls off as the weather grows milder. In moſt of theſe quadrupeds, the feet, the tail, the ears, and, generally ſpeaking, all thoſe parts in which the circulation is ſlower, becauſe they are the moſt remote from the heart, are extremely ſhort. Wherever they happen to be ſomething longer, they are proportionably well covered. Under this gloomy ſky, all liquors become ſolid by freezing, and break the veſſels they are in. Even ſpirit of wine loſes

its fluidity. It is not uncommon to ſee fragments of large rocks looſened and detached from the great maſs, by the force of the froſt. All theſe phenomena, common enough during the whole winter, are much more terrible at the new and full moon, which in theſe regions has an influence upon the weather, the cauſes of which are not known.

In this frozen zone, iron, lead, copper, marble, and a ſubſtance reſembling ſea-coal, have been diſcovered. In other reſpects, the ſoil is extremely barren. Except the coaſts, which are for the moſt part marſhy, and produce a little graſs and ſome ſoft wood; the reſt of the country affords nothing but very high moſs, and a few weak ſhrubs very thinly ſcattered.

This deficiency in nature extends itſelf to every thing. The human race are few in number, and there are ſcarce any perſons above four feet high. Their heads bear the ſame enormous proportion to the reſt of their bodies as thoſe of children do. The ſmallneſs of their feet makes them awkward and tottering in their gait. Small hands and a round mouth, which in Europe are reckoned a beauty, ſeem almoſt a deformity in theſe people, becauſe we ſee nothing here but the effects of a weak organization, and of a cold climate, that contracts and reſtrains the principles of growth, and is fatal to the progreſs of animal as well as of vegetable life. All the men, even the youngeſt of them, though they have neither hair nor beard, have the appearance of being old. This is partly occaſioned from the formation of their lower lip, which is thick, fleſhy, and projecting beyond the upper. Such are the Eſquimaux, who inhabit not only the coaſt of Labrador, from whence they have taken their name, but likewiſe all that tract of country which extends from the point of Belleiſle to the moſt northern parts of America.

The inhabitants of Hudſons bay have, like the Greenlanders, a flat face, with ſhort but not flattened noſes, the pupil yellow, and the iris black. Their women have marks of deformity peculiar to their ſex, among others very long and flabby breaſts. This defect, which is not natural, ariſes from their cuſtom of giving ſuck to their children till they are five or ſix years old. As they often carry them at their backs, the children pull their mothers breaſts forcibly, and almoſt ſupport themſelves by them.

It is not true that there are hordes of the Eſquimaux entirely black, as has been ſuppoſed, and then accounted for; nor that they live under ground. How ſhould they dig into a ſoil, which the cold renders harder than ſtone? How is it poſſible they ſhould live in caverns where they would be infallibly drowned by the firſt melting of the ſnows?

It is, however, certain, that they ſpend the winter under huts haſtily built with flints joined together with cements of ice, where they live without any other fire but that of a lamp hung in the middle of the ſhed, for the purpoſe of dreſſing their game and the fiſh they feed upon. The heat of their blood, and of their breath, added to the vapour ariſing from this ſmall flame, is ſufficient to make their huts as hot as ſtoves.

The Eſquimaux dwell conſtantly in the neighbourhood of the ſea, which ſupplies them with all their proviſions. Both their conſtitution and complexion partake of the quality of their aliment. The fleſh of the ſeal is their food, and the oil of the whale is their drink, which produces in them all an olive complexion, a ſtrong ſmell of fiſh, an oily and tenacious ſweat, and ſometimes a ſort of ſcaly leproſy. This is, probably, the reaſon why the mothers have the ſame cuſtom as the bears, of licking their young ones.

Theſe people, weak and degraded by nature, are notwithſtanding moſt intrepid upon a ſea that is conſtantly dangerous. In boats made and ſewed together like ſo many borachios, but at the ſame time ſo well cloſed that it is impoſſible for the water to penetrate them, they follow the ſholes of herrings through the whole of their polar emigrations, and attack the whales and ſeals at the peril of their lives. One ſtroke of the whale's tail is ſufficient to drown a hundred of them, and the ſeal is armed with teeth to devour thoſe he cannot drown; but the hunger of the Eſquimaux is ſuperior to the rage of theſe monſters. They have an inordinate deſire for the whale's oil, which is neceſſary to preſerve the heat in their ſtomachs, and defend them from the ſeverity of the cold. Indeed, whales, men, birds, and all the quadrupeds and fiſh, of the north, are ſupplied by nature with a quantity of fat which prevents the muſcles from freezing, and the blood from coagulating.

Every thing in theſe arctic regions is either oily or gummy, and even the trees are reſinous.

The Eſquimaux are, notwithſtanding, ſubject to two fatal diſorders, the ſcurvy and the loſs of ſight. The continuation of the ſnows on the ground, joined to the reverberation of the rays of the ſun on the ice, dazzle their eyes in ſuch a manner, that they are almoſt conſtantly obliged to wear ſhades made of very thin wood, through which ſmall apertures for the light are bored with fiſh-bones. Doomed to a ſix months night, they never ſee the ſun but obliquely, and then it ſeems rather to blind them than to give them light. Sight, the moſt delightful bleſſing of nature, is a fatal gift to them, and they are generally deprived of it when young.

A ſtill more cruel evil, which is the ſcurvy, conſumes them by ſlow degrees. It inſinuates itſelf into their blood, changes, thickens, and impoveriſhes, the whole maſs. The fogs of the ſea, which they inſpire, the denſe and inelaſtic air they breathe in their huts, which exclude all communication with the external air, the continued and tedious inactivity of their long winters, a mode of life alternately roving and ſedentary; in a word, every circumſtance ſerves to increaſe this dreadful illneſs; which in a little time becomes contagious, and ſpreading itſelf throughout their habitations, is alſo probably entailed upon their poſterity.

Notwithſtanding theſe inconveniences, the Eſquimaux is ſo paſſionately fond of his country, that no inhabitant of the moſt favoured ſpot under heaven quits it with more reluctance than he does his frozen deſerts. One of the reaſons of this may be, that he finds it difficult to breathe in a ſofter and more temperate climate. The ſky of Amſterdam, Copenhagen, and London, though conſtantly obſcured by thick and fetid vapours, is too clear for an Eſquimaux. Perhaps too, there may be ſomething in the change of life and manners ſtill more unfavourable to the health of ſavages than the climate. It is not impoſſible but that the delights of an European may be poiſon to the Eſquimaux.

Such were the inhabitants of the country diſcovered in 1607 by Henry Hudſon, who had employed himſelf in ſearching for a north-weſt paſſage to enter into the South

ſea. This intrepid and able navigator, in 1611, was going through, for the third time, theſe ſtraits, which were before unknown, when his baſe and treacherous crew placed him, with ſeven of the ſailors who were animated with the ſame ſpirit, in a very ſlight boat, and left him, without either arms or proviſions, expoſed to all the dangers both of ſea and land. The barbarians, who refuſed him the neceſſaries of life, could not, however, rob him of the honour of the diſcovery; and the bay which he firſt found out will ever be called by his name.

The miſeries of the civil war which followed ſoon after, had, however, made the Engliſh forget this diſtant country, which had nothing to attract them. A ſucceſſion of more quiet times had not yet induced them to attend to it, when Groſeillers and Radiſſon, two French Canadians, having met with ſome diſcontent at home, informed the Engliſh, who were engaged in repairing the miſchiefs of diſcord by trade, of the profits ariſing from furs, and of their claim to the country that furniſhed them. Thoſe who propoſed this undertaking ſhewed ſo much ability, that they were intruſted with the execution of it; and the firſt eſtabliſhment they formed ſucceeded ſo well, that it ſurpaſſed their own hopes as well as their promiſes.

This ſucceſs alarmed the French, who were afraid, and with reaſon, that moſt of the fine furs which they got from the northern parts of Canada, would be carried to Hudſons bay. Their alarms were confirmed by the unanimous teſtimony of their *Coureurs de Bois*, who, ſince 1656, had been four times as far as the borders of the ſtrait. It would have been an eligible thing to have gone by the ſame road to attack the new colony; but the diſtance being thought too conſiderable, notwithſtanding the convenience of the rivers, it was at length determined that the expedition ſhould be made by ſea. The fate of it was truſted to Groſeillers and Radiſſon, who had been eaſily prevailed upon to renew their attachment to their country.

Theſe two bold and turbulent men ſailed from Quebec in 1682, in two veſſels ill equipped; and on their arrival, finding themſelves not ſtrong enough to attack the enemy, they were contented with erecting a fort in the neighbourhood of that they deſigned to have taken. From this

time there began a rivalſhip between the two companies, one ſettled at Canada, the other in England, for the excluſive trade of the bay, which was conſtantly kept up by the diſputes it occaſioned, till at laſt, after each of their ſettlements had been frequently taken and recovered, all hoſtilities were terminated by the treaty of Utrecht, by which the whole was ceded to Great Britain.

Hudſons bay, properly ſpeaking, is only a mart for trade. The ſeverity of the climate having deſtroyed all the corn ſown there at different times, has fruſtrated every hope of agriculture, and conſequently of population. Throughout the whole of this extenſive coaſt, there are not more than ninety or a hundred ſoldiers, or factors, who live in four bad forts, of which York fort is the principal. Their buſineſs is to receive the furs brought by the neighbouring ſavages in exchange for merchandize, of which they have been taught the value and uſe.

Though theſe ſkins be much more valuable than thoſe which are found in countries not ſo far north, yet they are cheaper. The ſavages give ten beaver ſkins for a gun, two for a pound of powder, one for four pounds of lead, one for a hatchet, one for ſix knives, two for a pound of glaſs beads, ſix for a cloth coat, five for a petticoat, and one for a pound of ſnuff. Combs, looking-glaſſes, kettles, and brandy, ſell in proportion. As the beaver is the common meaſure of exchange, by another regulation as fraudulent as the firſt, two otter ſkins and three martins are required inſtead of one beaver. Beſide this oppreſſion, which is authoriſed, there is another, which is at leaſt tolerated, by which the ſavages are conſtantly defrauded in the quality, quantity, and meaſure, of what is given them, and by which they loſe about one third of the value.

From this regulated ſyſtem of impoſition, it is eaſy to gueſs that the commerce of Hudſons bay is a monopoly. The capital of the company that is in poſſeſſion of it was originally no more than 241,500 livres [10,062l. 10s.] and has been ſucceſſively increaſed to 2,380,500 [99,187l. 10s.] This capital brings them in an annual return of forty or fifty thouſand ſkins of beavers or other animals, upon which they make ſo exorbitant a profit, that it excites the jealouſy and clamours of the nation. Two thirds of theſe beautiful furs are either conſumed in kind in the

three kingdoms, or made uſe of in the national manufactures. The reſt are carried into Germany, where the nature of the climate makes them a valuable commodity.

Whether there be a paſſage from Hudſons bay to the Eaſt-Indies.

BUT it is neither the acquiſition of theſe ſavage riches, nor the ſtill greater emoluments that might be drawn from this trade, if it were made free, which have alone fixed the attention of England, as well as that of all Europe, upon this frozen continent. Hudſons bay always has been, and is ſtill looked upon as the neareſt road from Europe to the Eaſt-Indies, and to the richeſt parts of Aſia.

Cabot was the firſt who entertained an idea of a north-weſt paſſage to the South ſeas; but his diſcoveries ended at Newfoundland. After him followed a multitude of Engliſh navigators, many of whom had the glory of giving their names to ſavage coaſts which no mortal had ever viſited before. Theſe bold and memorable expeditions were more ſtriking than really uſeful. The moſt fortunate of them did not furniſh a ſingle idea relative to the object of purſuit. The Dutch, leſs frequent in their attempts, and who purſued them with leſs ardour, were of courſe not more ſucceſsful; and the whole began to be treated as a chimera, when the diſcovery of Hudſons bay rekindled all the hopes that were nearly extinguiſhed.

From this time the attempts were renewed with freſh ardour. Thoſe that had been made before in vain by the mother country, whoſe attention was engroſſed by her own inteſtine commotions, were purſued by New England, whoſe ſituation was more favourable to the enterpriſe. Still, however, for ſome time there were more voyages undertaken than diſcoveries made. The nation was a long time kept in ſuſpenſe by the contradictory accounts received from the adventurers. While ſome maintained the poſſibility, ſome the probability, and others aſſerted the certainty, of the paſſage; the accounts they gave, inſtead of clearing up the point, involved it ſtill in greater darkneſs. Indeed, theſe accounts are ſo full of obſcurity and confuſion, they are ſilent upon ſo many important circum-

ſtances, and they diſplay ſuch viſible marks of ignorance and want of veracity, that, however impatient we may be of determining the queſtion, it is impoſſible to build any thing like a ſolid judgment upon teſtimonies ſo ſuſpicious. At length the famous expedition of 1746 threw ſome kind of light upon a point which had remained enveloped in darkneſs for two centuries paſt. But upon what grounds have the later navigators entertained better hopes? What are the experiments on which they found their conjectures?

Let us proceed to give an account of their arguments. There are three facts in natural hiſtory, which henceforward muſt be taken for granted. The firſt is, that the tides come from the ocean, and that they extend more or leſs into the other ſeas, in proportion as their channels communicate with the great reſervoir by larger or ſmaller openings; from whence it follows, that this periodical motion either doth not exiſt, or is ſcarce perceptible in the Mediterranean, in the Baltic, and other gulfs of the ſame nature. A ſecond matter of fact is, that the tides are much later and much weaker in places more remote from the ocean, than in thoſe which are nearer to it. The third fact is, that violent winds, which blow in a direction with the tides, make them riſe above their ordinary boundaries; and that thoſe which blow in a contrary direction retard their motion, at the ſame time that they diminiſh their ſwell.

From theſe principles it is moſt certain, that if Hudſons bay were no more than a gulf incloſed between two continents, and had no communication but with the Atlantic, the tides in it would be very inconſiderable; they would be weaker in proportion as they were further removed from the ſource, and would be much leſs ſtrong wherever they ran in a contrary direction to the wind. But it is proved by obſervations made with the greateſt ſkill and preciſion, that the tides are very high throughout the whole bay. It is certain that they are higher towards the bottom of the bay than even in the ſtrait itſelf, or at leaſt in the neighbourhood of it. It is proved, that even this height increaſes whenever the wind blows from a corner oppoſite to the ſtrait; it is therefore certain, that Hudſons

bay has a communication with the ocean, beſide that which has been already found out.

Thoſe who have endeavoured to explain theſe very ſtriking facts, by ſuppoſing a communication of Hudſons with Baffins bay, or with Davis's ſtraits, are evidently in an error. They would not ſcruple to reject this opinion, for which, indeed, there is no real foundation, if they only conſidered that the tides are much lower in Davis's ſtraits and in Baffins bay, than in Hudſons.

But if the tides in Hudſons bay can come neither from the Atlantic ocean, nor from any other northern ſea, in which they are conſtantly much weaker, it follows that they muſt have their origin in the South ſea. And this is ſtill further apparent from another leading fact, which is, that the higheſt tides ever obſerved upon theſe coaſts are always occaſioned by the north-weſt winds, which blow directly againſt the mouth of the ſtrait.

Having thus determined, as much as the nature of the ſubject will permit, the exiſtence of this paſſage, ſo long and ſo vainly wiſhed for, the next point is, to find out in what part of the bay it is to be expected. From conſidering every circumſtance, we are induced to think that the attempts, which have been hitherto made without either choice or method, ought to be directed towards Welcome bay, on the weſtern coaſt. Firſt, the bottom of the ſea is to be ſeen there at the depth of about eleven fathom, which is an evident ſign that the water comes from ſome ocean, as ſuch a tranſparency could not exiſt in waters diſcharged from rivers, or in melted ſnow or rain. Secondly, the currents keep this place always free from ice, while all the reſt of the bay is covered with it; and their violence cannot be accounted for, but by ſuppoſing them to come from ſome weſtern ſea. Laſtly, the whales, which towards the latter end of autumn always go in ſearch of the warmeſt climates, are found in great abundance in theſe parts towards the end of the ſummer, which would ſeem to indicate that there is an outlet for them from thence to the South ſeas, not to the northern ocean.

It is probable that the paſſage is very ſhort. All the rivers that empty themſelves on the weſtern coaſt of Hudſons bay are ſmall and ſlow, which ſeems to prove that they do not come from any diſtance, and that conſequently the

lands which ſeparate the two ſeas are of a ſmall extent. This argument is ſtrengthened by the height and regularity of the tides. Wherever there is no other difference between the times of the ebb and flow, but that which is occaſioned by the retarded progreſſion of the moon in her return to the meridian, it is a certain ſign that the ocean from whence thoſe tides come is very near. If the paſſage be ſhort, and not very far to the north, as every thing ſeems to promiſe, we may alſo preſume that it is not very difficult. The rapidity of the currents obſervable in theſe latitudes, which prevents any flakes of ice from continuing there, cannot but give ſome weight to this conjecture.

The diſcovery that ſtill remains to be made is of ſo much importance and utility, that it would be folly to neglect the purſuit of it. It is conſiſtent with the intereſt, as well as the dignity, of Great Britain, that theſe attempts ſhould be purſued, either till they ſucceed, or till the impoſſibility of ſucceeding ſhall be demonſtrated. The reſolution which they have taken in 1745, of promiſing a conſiderable reward to the navigators who ſhould ſucceed in this great project, diſplays their wiſdom even in their generoſity, but is not ſtill ſufficient to attain the end that is propoſed. The miniſtry of England muſt know, that the efforts of individuals will not ſucceed, till the trade of Hudſons bay be entirely laid open. It ought to be made free on every account, and particularly, becauſe the term of the grant given by Charles II has been expired for a long time, and hath never been legally prolonged. The company in whoſe hands the trade is, ſince the year 1670, not ſatisfied with neglecting the object of their inſtitution, by taking no ſteps towards the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage, have even exerted their utmoſt efforts to thwart the deſigns of thoſe who, either from love of glory or from other motives, have been impelled to this undertaking. Nothing can alter that ſpirit of iniquity which conſtitutes the eſſence of monopoly.

Paſſage from Hudſons bay to the Eaſt-Indies conſidered.

PERHAPS we ſhould, however, confine ourſelves chiefly to the northern ſeas, in order to diſcover this long-wiſhed-for paſſage. About two centuries ago, a

report was ſpread that there exiſted one ſomewhere elſe, which was ſometimes deſcribed under the name of Anian. The Spaniards, who were not yet acquainted with the paſſage from Cape Horn to the South ſeas, and who got there only by the ſtraits of Magellan, which were dreaded on account of the frequent ſhipwrecks that happened there, eagerly laid hold of this popular opinion. They fitted out five expeditions, as expenſive as they were uſeleſs; and the reſult of which was, that Europe was undeceived with reſpect to this fabulous account, which the Spaniards themſelves were accuſed of having propagated, in order to divert other nations from the deſign of ſeeking a paſſage towards the north.

This ſtate of inaction did not, it is ſaid, laſt long. The court of Madrid being informed that New England was preparing, in 1636, a new expedition, to diſcover a paſſage through the Frozen ſea, likewiſe ordered one to be fitted out at Peru, in order to meet theſe navigators. Admiral Fuentes, who was intruſted with this expedition, ſet out from Callao, with four ſhips, towards the middle of the year 1640. He rapidly overcame all the obſtacles which nature oppoſed to his operations, and arrived himſelf in Hudſons bay, while his lieutenants penetrated into Davis's ſtraits, and into the ſea of Tartary, at the extremity of Aſia. After the diſcovery of theſe three paſſages, the ſmall fleet very happily regained the South ſea, from whence it had ſet out. It hath been pretended, that the council in India had myſteriouſly concealed the knowledge of this event from the nations, and that they had ſuppreſſed, with the greateſt care, all the accounts which might one day revive the memory of it. The Spaniards, in their turn, affirm, that the expedition of Fuentes and the diſcovery are both equally chimerical; and there can be no doubt but that they are entirely in the right.

It is very poſſible that the writings recently publiſhed upon this ſubject have excited a laudable curioſity. The government of Mexico, animated with the ſame ſpirit which begins to ſtimulate the mother country, diſpatched, on the 13th of June 1773, a frigate, deſtined to reconnoitre America at the higheſt degree of latitude poſſible. The perſons on-board this ſhip perceived the coaſt at 40, 49, and even at 55, degrees 43 minutes; preciſely at the

ſame place where Captain Tichivikow had diſcovered it upon his firſt expedition from Kamtſchatka. The ſhip entered into the port of Saint Blas, to take in freſh proviſions, and then recommenced its cruiſes. It can ſcarce be doubted, but that the deſire of gaining information with reſpect to the north-weſt paſſage was the principal deſign of all theſe labours.

After ſo many fruitleſs attempts, if ſome navigator ſhould appear, whoſe ſtrong mind riſes ſuperior to every ſenſe of danger; who fears not to encounter the greateſt and moſt various hardſhips, and whoſe patience cannot be exhauſted by the duration of them: if ſuch a one ſhould be animated with the ſenſe of glory, the only principle which makes men regardleſs of life, and excites them to great undertakings: if he ſhould be a well-informed man, ſo as to underſtand what he ſees, and a man of veracity, ſo as to relate nothing but what he hath ſeen; his reſearches will, perhaps, be crowned with better ſucceſs.

This extraordinary man hath appeared in the perſon of Captain Cook: that navigator, who is ſo much beyond all his competitors, is gone for Otaheite. From thence he is to proceed to the north of California, there to ſeek for the north-weſt paſſage. He will have, for the purpoſe of effecting this diſcovery, many advantages denied to thoſe navigators who have gone by the way of Hudſons bay, or of the neighbouring latitudes. If this celebrated paſſage ſhould ſtill remain concealed, though it be ſought for with all his reſolution and ſkill, it muſt be concluded, either that it doth not exiſt, or that it is not given to man to diſcover it.

But how inconceivable is the viciſſitude of all human affairs; how perpetual the ſway of deſtiny, which thwarts or favours, retards or accelerates, ſtops or ſuſpends, our enterpriſes! Cook, whom nature had endowed with the genius and intrepidity neceſſary for extraordinary actions; whom a generous and enlightened nation had provided with all the means that can inſure ſucceſs; whoſe ſhip, a young monarch, convinced undoubtedly that virtue attends upon the progreſs of knowledge, had given orders to reſpect, and to aſſiſt during the courſe of hoſtilities, as in time of full peace; Cook, who had ſailed over an immenſe extent of ſpace, and whoſe labours were now drawing near

to an end, loſes his life by the hand of a ſavage. The man, whoſe remains ſhould have been depoſited by the ſide of kings, is buried at the foot of a tree, in an iſland almoſt unknown.

Should his ſucceſſor, Captain Clerke, who purſues his projects, at length diſcover this paſſage, which hath been ſo obſtinately ſought for, and ſhould it prove eaſy to ſail through it, the connections between Europe and the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies will become more animated, more conſtant, and more conſiderable. Both the ſtraits of Magellan and Cape Horn will be entirely deſerted, and the Cape of Good Hope much leſs frequented.

Theſe revolutions, which may affect Hudſons bay in ſo palpable a manner, will never change the deſtiny of Canada, conquered from France in 1760.

State of Canada ſince it hath been under the dominion of Great Britain.

This colony was divided, during the ſpace of four years, into three military governments. Civil and criminal cauſes were tried at Quebec and at Trois Rivieres, by the officers of the army; while at Montreal, theſe nice and important functions were intruſted to the citizens. They were both equally ignorant of the laws: and the commandant of each diſtrict, to whom an appeal lay from their ſentences, was not better informed.

A new ſyſtem was eſtabliſhed in the year 1764. Canada was diſmembered of the coaſt of Labrador, which was united to Newfoundland; of lake Champlain, and of all the ſpace to the ſouth of the forty-fifth degree of latitude, which was added to New York; and of the immenſe territory to the weſt of Fort Golette, and of the lake Niſſiping, which was put under no government. The remainder, under the title of the province of Quebec, was ſubject to one governor.

At the ſame period the colony was put under the laws of the admiralty of England; but this innovation was hardly perceived, becauſe it ſcarce intereſted any but the conquerors, who were in poſſeſſion of all the maritime trade.

Greater attention was paid to the eſtabliſhment of the code of criminal laws adopted in England. This was

one of the moſt valuable preſents Canada could poſſibly receive.

Before that time, a culprit, whether guilty or only ſuſpected, was immediately ſeized, thrown into priſon, and queſtioned, without being made acquainted either with his crime or with his accuſer, and without being allowed the liberty of ſeeing either his relations or friends, or of applying to council. He was made to ſwear that he would tell the truth, that is to ſay, accuſe himſelf; and to complete theſe abſurdities, his teſtimony was diſregarded.

Attempts were then made to embarraſs him with captious queſtions, which an impudent and guilty perſon could more readily anſwer, than an innocent man in confuſion. One might have ſaid, that the function of a judge was nothing more than the ſubtle art of finding out culprits. The priſoner was not confronted with thoſe who depoſed againſt him, till the inſtant before the judge pronounced either his releaſe, or a delay of paſſing ſentence, for the purpoſe of obtaining more ample information, or the puniſhment of torture or death. In caſe of releaſe, the innocent man obtained no indemnity; while, on the other hand, the ſentence of death was always followed by confiſcation: for ſuch, in abridgement, is the mode of criminal proceſs in France. The Canadians ſoon underſtood, and ſenſibly felt, the value of a legiſlation which removed all theſe evils.

The civil code of Great Britain did not give equal ſatisfaction. Its ſtatutes were complicated, obſcure, and numerous; they were written in a language which was not then familiar to the conquered people. Independent of theſe conſiderations, the Canadians had lived one hundred and fifty years under another kind of adminiſtration, which they were attached to by birth, by education, by cuſtom, and perhaps alſo by a kind of national pride. They could not, therefore, but experience great uneaſineſs at ſeeing a change in the rule of their duties, and in the baſis of their property. If diſcontent was not carried ſo far as to diſturb public tranquillity, it was becauſe the inhabitants of this region had not yet loſt that ſpirit of blind obedience which had ſo long directed all their actions; it is becauſe the adminiſtrators and magiſtrates

who had been given to them, were conſtantly deviating from their inſtructions, in order to come as near as poſſible to the cuſtoms and maxims which they found eſtabliſhed.

The parliament was aware that this arrangement could not be laſting. They ſettled, that, on the firſt of May 1775, Canada ſhould recover its firſt limits: that it ſhould be governed by its former juriſprudence, and by the criminal and maritime laws of England: that the free exerciſe of the catholic religion ſhould be allowed; and that this kind of worſhip ſhould never be an obſtacle to any of the rights of the citizen: that eccleſiaſtical tithes, and the feudal obligations, which had been ſo fortunately diſuſed ſince the time of the conqueſt, ſhould recover their former influence. A council, appointed by the king, might annul theſe arrangements, and exerciſe every kind of power, except that of levying taxes. This council was to conſiſt of twenty-three perſons, promiſcuouſly choſen from among the two nations, and ſubjected only to take an oath of allegiance.

This ariſtocracy, which was very variable, and entirely of a new caſt, was generally diſliked. The ancient ſubjects of Great Britain lately ſettled in this new poſſeſſion, were exceedingly diſſatisfied at having part of their rights taken from them. The Canadians, who began to know the value of liberty, and who had been flattered with the hopes of being under the Engliſh government, found themſelves, with grief, deceived in their expectations. It is probable that the court of London itſelf had not a more favourable opinion of this meaſure. This kind of arrangement had been ſuggeſted to the government by the diſcontent which was already known to prevail in moſt of their provinces of the New World. It may be preſumed that they will retract when circumſtances and policy will admit of it.

But yet what became of Canada during the courſe of thoſe too rapid revolutions that have happened in the government?

Its population, which the events of war had ſeverely decreaſed, hath ariſen to one hundred and thirty thouſand ſouls, in the ſpace of ſixteen years. The province hath not been indebted to new coloniſts for this increaſe. There has ſcarce arrived a ſufficient number of Engliſhmen,

to replace one thouſand or twelve hundred Frenchmen who had quitted it at the conqueſt. This fortunate event hath alone been produced by peace, by eaſy circumſtances, and by a multiplication of uſeful labours.

The firſt years of tranquillity have ſerved to extricate the colony from that kind of chaos into which it had been plunged by a deſtructive and unfortunate war. Theſe events have ſoon been ſucceeded by improvements.

Stockings, lace, coarſe linens, and common ſtuffs, had for a long time been manufactured at Canada. Theſe manufactures have been extended but not improved. The two latter muſt remain in this ſtate of degradation till they are taken out of the hands of women, who are alone employed in them, as well as in others more ſuitable to their ſex.

The beaver and fur trade hath not diminiſhed, as it was apprehended. It hath even rather increaſed, becauſe the Canadians, more active than their neighbours, and better ſkilled in treating with the ſavages, have ſucceeded in reſtraining the intercourſe between Hudſons bay and New York. Beſides, the value of the furs is doubled in Europe, while the price of the articles which are given in exchange is but a little enhanced.

Though the ſeas in the neighbourhood of Canada abound in fiſh, the Canadians have ſeldom frequented them. The natural obſtacles which render them averſe from navigation, alſo diſguſt them of fiſhing. The cod fiſhery, however, formerly attempted at Gaſpé and at Mont Louis; that of the ſalmon and of the ſeal, eſtabliſhed upon the coaſt of Labrador, have made ſome progreſs ſince the conqueſt. The whale fiſhery hath even been attempted, but not with ſufficient ſucceſs to be continued. It will undoubtedly be revived, when an increaſe of ſailors and of knowledge, and perhaps when gratuities, properly beſtowed, ſhall have levelled every difficulty.

The cattle have increaſed, and yet there is no meat ſalted, except for the internal conſumption, and for the exterior navigation of the colony. Some of theſe ſalt proviſions will ſoon be ſent to the Weſt-Indies, in the ſame manner as horſes now are; which though ſmall, are indefatigable.

The culture of flax, hemp, and tobacco, hath viſibly increaſed. That of corn hath particularly engaged the attention of the colony. In 1770, it began to furniſh flour to the Weſt-Indies, and ſeeds to Italy, to Portugal, to Spain, and even to England; and this exportation increaſes continually.

In 1769, the productions ſold to foreigners amounted to 4,077,602 livres 7 ſols 8 deniers [about 169,900l. 2s. 4d.] They were carried off by about ſeventy veſſels from Old or New England, ſeveral of which came with their ballaſt only. The others brought to the colony rum, molaſſes, coffee, and ſugar, from the Weſt-Indies; ſalt, oil, wine, and brandy, from Spain, Italy and Portugal; and ſtuffs, linens, and houſehold furniture, from the mother country. Canada is properly in poſſeſſion of no other ſhips except thoſe which are neceſſary for the internal conſumption; a dozen of ſmall veſſels which are employed in the ſeal fiſhery; and five or ſix, which are ſent to the Antilles. The conſtruction of veſſels, far from having been more frequent, hath diminiſhed ſince the conqueſt; and it is to the dearneſs of labour, in which more hands are employed, that this change, which it was not natural to expect, muſt be attributed.

This inconvenience hath not prevented the colony from becoming richer than it was under another dominion. Its debts have been entirely paid ſince the year 1772, and it hath no paper currency. Its ſpecies increaſes daily, both by the multiplication of its commodities, and by the expences of government. Beſides what Great Britain hath expended for the troops, the civil adminiſtration of Canada coſts the country annually 625,000 livres [26,041l. 13s. 4d.] while it receives only 225,000 livres [9,375l.] from the duties which it hath impoſed, in 1765, 1772, and 1773, on the wines, brandy, rum, molaſſes, glaſs, and colours.

The extent of Canada, the fertility of its ſoil, the ſalubrity of its climate, ſhould ſeem to invite it to a great degree of proſperity; but this is impeded by powerful obſtacles. This region hath only one river for its exports and imports, and even this is blocked up by ice, ſo as not to be navigable during ſix months; while heavy fogs render the navigation of it ſlow and difficult throughout the

reſt of the year. Hence it will happen, that the other northern colonies which have the ſame productions as this colony, and have not ſimilar obſtacles to ſurmount, will always have a decided advantage over it, for the large fiſheries, and for the navigation to the Weſt-Indies and to Europe. In this reſpect the iſland of St. John is more fortunately circumſtanced.

What is become of the iſlands of St. John, of Magdalen, and of Cape Breton, ſince ſubjected to the Britiſh.

When the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of the iſland of St. John, ſituated on the gulf of St. Lawrence, they had the bad policy to expel from thence more than three thouſand Frenchmen, who had lately formed ſettlements there. No ſooner had the property of the iſland been inſured to the conqueror by treaties, than the earl of Egmont was deſirous of becoming maſter of it. He engaged to furniſh twelve hundred armed men for the defence of the colony, provided he were permitted to cede, on the ſame conditions, and in meſne fee, ſome conſiderable portions of his territory. Theſe offers were agreeable to the court of London; but by a law which was made at the memorable period of the reſtoration of Charles II the granting of the domains of the crown upon the ſtipulation of a military ſervice, or of a feudal homage, had been forbidden. The lawyers determined that this ſtatute affected the New as well as the Old World, and this deciſion ſuggeſted other ideas to government.

The long and cruel ſtorm by which the globe had been agitated was appeaſed. Moſt of the officers who had ſealed the triumphs of England with their blood, were unemployed, and without ſubſiſtence. It was imagined to divide the ſoil of St. John among them, upon condition that, after ten years of free enjoyment, they ſhould annually pay to the treaſury, as they do in moſt of the provinces of the continent of America, 2 livres 10 ſols 7 deniers and a half [about 2s. 1¼d.] for every hundred acres they ſhould poſſeſs. Very few of theſe new proprietors intended to ſettle in theſe diſtant regions; very few of them were able to furniſh the ſums neceſſary for clearing a portion of land of any extent. Moſt of them ceded their rights, for a greater or leſs time, and for a rent more or leſs moderate,

to ſome Iriſhmen, and eſpecially to ſome Scotch Highlanders. The number of coloniſts doth not yet amount to twelve hundred; who are employed in the cod fiſhery, and in cultures of different kinds. They have no intercourſe with Europe, but trade only with Quebec and with Halifax.

Till 1772, St. John depended upon Nova Scotia. At this period it formed a ſeparate ſtate. It obtained a governor, a council, an aſſembly, a cuſtom-houſe, and an admiralty. Port la Joie, which is now called Charlotte town, is the capital of the colony.

An iſland of ſo ſmall an extent ſcarce appeared worthy of the importance it acquired by favours which we cannot account for. In order to give a kind of reality to this ſettlement, the iſlands of Magdalen, inhabited by a few perſons employed in the cod fiſhery, and in catching ſea-cows, were annexed to it; as was alſo Cape Breton, which was formerly famous, but which hath loſt its importance by its change of government. Louiſburg, the terror of Engliſh America not twenty years ago, is now no more than a heap of ruins. The four thouſand Frenchmen who had been diſperſed after the conqueſt, by an unjuſt and ill-judged miſtruſt, have only been replaced by five or ſix hundred men, who are more engaged in ſmuggling than in fiſhing. Even the coal mines have no longer been attended to.

Theſe mines are very abundant at Cape Breton, are eaſily worked, and are in ſome meaſure inexhauſtible. Under the former poſſeſſors a great confuſion prevailed in them, which the new government have wiſhed to prevent, by reſerving the property to themſelves, in order to cede it only to thoſe who ſhould have ſufficient means to render it uſeful. Thoſe who will engage in this undertaking, with the funds requiſite, will find an advantageous mart in all the weſtern iſlands of America, and even upon the coaſts, and in the ports of the northern continent, where the dearneſs of wood is already experienced, and where it will be ſtill more ſenſibly felt every day. This ſpecies of induſtry would form a trade to the colony, which would be ever increaſing; and it would even extend to fiſheries, but not to that degree as ever to render them equal to thoſe of Newfoundland.

Deſcription of the iſland of Newfoundland.

THIS iſland, ſituated between 46 and 52 degrees of north latitude, is ſeparated from the coaſt of Labrador only by a channel of moderate breadth, known by the name of Belleiſle ſtraits. It is of a triangular form, and ſomething more than three hundred leagues in circumference. We can only ſpeak by conjecture of the inland parts of it, on account of the difficulty of penetrating far into it, and the apparent inutility of ſucceeding in the attempt. The little that is known of it is, that it is full of very ſteep rocks, mountains covered with bad wood, and ſome very narrow and ſandy valleys. Theſe inacceſſible places are ſtocked with deer, which multiply with the greater eaſe on account of the ſecurity of their ſituation. No ſavages have ever been ſeen there except ſome Eſquimaux, who come over from the continent in the hunting ſeaſon. The coaſt abounds with creeks, roads, and harbours; is ſometimes covered with moſs, but more commonly with ſmall pebbles, which ſeem as if they had been placed there by deſign, for the purpoſe of drying the fiſh caught in the neighbourhood. In all the open places, where the flat ſtones reflect the ſun's rays, the heat is exceſſive. The reſt of the country is entirely cold; leſs ſo, however, from its ſituation, than from the heights, the foreſts, the winds, and above all, the vaſt mountains of ice which come out of the northern ſeas, and fix on theſe coaſts. The ſky towards the northern and weſtern parts is conſtantly ſerene, but is much leſs ſo towards the eaſt and ſouth, both of theſe points being too near the great bank, which is enveloped in a perpetual fog.

At what period, and in what manner the Engliſh and French have ſettled at Newfoundland.

NEWFOUNDLAND was diſcovered in 1497, by John Cabot, a Venetian; but this diſcovery was not purſued. At the return of this great navigator, England was too much taken up with its diſputes with Scotland, to give any ſerious attention to ſuch diſtant intereſts.

Thirty years afterwards, Henry VIII ſent two ſhips to take a more particular ſurvey of the iſland, which had as yet been only perceived. One of theſe ſhips was loſt upon

thoſe ſavage coaſts, and the other returned to England without having acquired any information.

Another voyage, undertaken in 1536, was more ſucceſsful. The adventurers, who had undertaken it, with the aſſiſtance of government, informed their country that a great quantity of cod fiſh might be caught at Newfoundland. This information was not entirely uſeleſs: and ſoon after, ſome ſmall veſſels were ſent from England in the ſpring, which returned in autumn with their whole freight of fiſh, both ſalt and dried.

At firſt, the territory which was requiſite to prepare the cod fiſh belonged to the firſt perſon who ſeized upon it. This cuſtom proved a perpetual ſource of diſcord. Sir Thomas Hampſhire, who was ſent by Queen Elizabeth, in 1582, into theſe latitudes with five ſhips, was authoriſed to ſecure to every fiſherman the property of that portion of the coaſt which he choſe.

This new arrangement multiplied the expeditions to Newfoundland to ſuch a degree, that, in 1615, two hundred and fifty Engliſh veſſels were ſeen upon thoſe coaſts, the lading of which amounted in all to fifteen thouſand tons. All theſe veſſels had ſailed from Europe. It was not till ſome years after that fixed habitations were formed there, which gradually occupied, on the eaſtern coaſt, the ſpace that extends from Conception bay to Cape Ras. Thoſe who were concerned in the fiſhery being forced, both from the nature of their employment and that of the foil, to live at a diſtance from each other, opened paths of communication through the woods. Their general rendezvous was at St. Johns, where, in an excellent harbour, formed between two mountains at a very ſmall diſtance from each other, they met with privateers from the mother country, who ſupplied them with every neceſſary article, in exchange for the produce of their fiſhery.

The French had turned their views towards Newfoundland before this proſperity of the Engliſh trade. They pretend even that they have frequented the coaſts of this iſland ſince the beginning of the ſixteenth century. This period may be too remote; but it is certain that they frequented them before the year 1634, when they obtained, according to the account of their rivals, from Charles I the liberty of fiſhing in theſe latitudes, on the condition of

paying him a duty of five per cent. But this tribute, which was equally burthenſome and humiliating, was ſoon after taken off.

However this fact may be, the truth of which is not aſcertained by any record, it is proved, that, towards the middle of the ſeventeenth century, the French went annually to Newfoundland. They did not, it is true, fiſh on the weſtern coaſt of the iſland, though, as it made part of the gulf of St. Lawrence, it was underſtood to belong to them; but they frequented in great numbers the northern part, which they had called *Le Petit Nord.* Some of them had even fixed upon the ſouthern part, where they had formed a kind of town upon the bay of Placentia, which united all the conveniencies that could be wiſhed for to obtain a ſucceſsful fiſhery.

Among all the ſettlements with which the Europeans have covered the New World, there is none of the nature of that of Newfoundland. The others have generally been the deſtruction of the firſt coloniſts they have received, and of a great number of their ſucceſſors; this climate, of itſelf, hath not deſtroyed one ſingle perſon; it hath even reſtored ſtrength to ſome of thoſe whoſe health had been affected by leſs wholeſome climates. The other colonies have exhibited a ſeries of injuſtice, oppreſſion, and carnage, which will for ever be holden in deteſtation. Newfoundland alone hath not offended againſt humanity, nor injured the rights of any people. The other ſettlements have yielded productions, only by receiving an equal value in exchange. Newfoundland alone hath drawn from the depths of the waters riches formed by nature alone, and which furniſh ſubſiſtence to ſeveral countries of both hemiſpheres.

How much time hath elapſed before this parallel hath been made! Of what importance did fiſh appear, when compared to the money which men went in ſearch of in the New World? It was long before it was underſtood, if even it be yet underſtood, that the repreſentation of the thing is not of greater value than the thing itſelf; and that a ſhip filled with cod, and a galleon, are veſſels equally laden with gold. There is even this remarkable difference, that mines can be exhauſted, and that the fiſheries

never are. Gold is not reproduced, but the fiſh are ſo inceſſantly.

The wealth of the fiſheries of Newfoundland had made ſuch a ſmall impreſſion upon the court of Verſailles in particular, that they had not even thought of thoſe latitudes before 1660; and that even then, they took no further notice of it, than to deſtroy the good which had been done there by their ſubjects without their ſanction. They gave up the property of Placentia bay to a private man named Gargot; but this rapacious man was driven away by the fiſhermen, whom he had been allowed to ſpoil. The miniſtry did not perſiſt in ſupporting the injuſtice of which they had been guilty; and nevertheleſs the oppreſſion of the colony was not diminiſhed. The laborious men whom neceſſity had united upon this barren and ſavage land, being now drawn out of that fortunate oblivion in which they had remained, were perſecuted without intermiſſion by the commanders who ſucceeded each other in a fort which had been conſtructed. This tyranny, by which the coloniſts were prevented from acquiring that degree of competency that was neceſſary to enable them to purſue their labours with ſucceſs, muſt alſo hinder them from increaſing their numbers. The French fiſhery, therefore, could never proſper ſo well as that of the Engliſh.

Notwithſtanding this, Great Britain, at the treaty of Utrecht, did not forget that her enterpriſing neighbours, ſupported by the Canadians, accuſtomed to ſudden attacks, and to the fatigues of the chaſe, had ſeveral times, during the two laſt wars, carried devaſtation into her ſettlements. This was ſufficient to induce her to demand the entire poſſeſſion of the iſland; and France, exhauſted by her miſfortunes, reſolved to make this ſacrifice; not, however, without reſerving to themſelves not only the right of fiſhing on one part of the iſland, but alſo on the great bank, which was conſidered as belonging to it.

Importance of the fiſhery to Newfoundland.

The fiſh for which theſe latitudes are ſo famous is the cod. The length of this fiſh does not exceed three feet, and is often leſs; but the ſea does not produce any with mouths as large in proportion to their ſize, or who are ſo voracious. Broken pieces of earthen ware,

iron, and glaſs, are often found in their bellies. The ſtomach, indeed, does not, as has been imagined, digeſt theſe hard ſubſtances, but by a certain power of inverting itſelf, like a pocket, diſcharges whatever loads it. This fiſh would have been leſs voracious, if its ſtomach had not been capable of being inverted. Its organization makes it indifferent with reſpect to the nature of the ſuſtenance it feeds upon. The conformation of the organs is the principle of appetite in all the living ſubſtances in the three natural kingdoms.

The cod fiſh is found in the northern ſeas of Europe. The fiſhery is carried on there by thirty Engliſh, ſixty French, and 150 Dutch, veſſels, which, taken together, carry from 80 to 100 tons burthen. Their competitors are the Iriſh, and above all, the Norwegians. The latter are employed, before the fiſhing ſeaſon, in collecting upon the coaſt, the eggs of the cod, which is the uſual bait for pilchards. They ſell, *communibus annis*, from twenty to twenty-two thouſand tons of this fiſh, at nine livres [7s. 6d.] per ton. If markets could be found for it, it might be taken in greater quantity: for an able naturaliſt, who has had the patience to count the eggs of one ſingle cod, has found 9,344,000 of them. This bounty of nature muſt be ſtill more conſiderable at Newfoundland, where the cod fiſh is found in infinitely greater plenty.

The fiſh of Newfoundland is alſo more delicate, though not ſo white; but it is not an object of trade when freſh, and only ſerves for the food of thoſe who are employed in the fiſhery. When it is ſalted and dried, or only ſalted, it becomes a uſeful article to a great part of Europe and America. That which is only ſalted is called green cod, and is caught upon the great bank.

This bank is one of thoſe mountains that are formed under water by the earth which the ſea is continually waſhing away from the continent. Both its extremities terminate ſo much in a point, that it is difficult to aſſign the preciſe extent of it, but it is generally reckoned to be 160 leagues long, and 90 broad. Towards the middle of it, on the European ſide, is a kind of bay, which has been called the ditch. Throughout all this ſpace, the depth of water is very different; in ſome places there are only five, in others above ſixty, fathom. The ſun ſcarce ever ſhews itſelf there,

and the ſky is generally covered with a thick cold fog. The waves are always agitated, and the winds always high about this ſpot, which muſt be owing to this circumſtance, that the ſea being irregularly driven forward by currents, bearing ſometimes on one ſide, and ſometimes on the other, ſtrikes with impetuoſity againſt the borders, which are everywhere perpendicular, and is repelled from them with equal violence. This is moſt likely to be the true reaſon, becauſe on the bank itſelf, at a little diſtance from the borders, the ſituation is as tranquil as in a harbour, except when a violent wind, which comes from a greater diſtance, happens to blow there.

From the middle of July to the latter end of Auguſt, there is no cod found either upon the great bank, or any of the ſmall ones near it, but all the reſt of the year the fiſhery is carried on.

Previous to their beginning the fiſhery, they build a gallery on the outſide of the ſhip, which reaches from the main-maſt to the ſtern, and ſometimes the whole length of the veſſel. This gallery is furniſhed with barrels, with the tops beaten out. The fiſhermen place themſelves within theſe, and are ſheltered from the weather by a pitched covering faſtened to the barrels. As ſoon as they catch a cod they cut out its tongue, and give the fiſh to one of the boys, to carry it to a perſon appointed for the purpoſe, who immediately ſtrikes off the head, plucks out the liver and entrails, and then lets it fall through a ſmall hatchway between the decks; when another man takes it and draws out the bone as far as the navel, and then lets it ſink through another hatchway into the hold, where it is ſalted and ranged in piles. The perſon who ſalts it takes care to leave ſalt enough between each row of fiſh, but not more than is ſufficient to prevent their touching each other, for either of theſe circumſtances neglected would ſpoil the cod.

But it is a well-atteſted phenomenon, that the cod fiſhery is ſcarcely begun before the ſea becomes oily, grows calm, and the barks are ſeen floating upon the ſurface of the waters as upon a poliſhed mirror. The ſame effect is produced by the oil which runs from a whale when it is cut to pieces. A ſhip newly tarred appeaſes the ſea under it and round the veſſels which are near it. In 1756, Dr.

Franklin, going to Louiſburg with a great fleet, obſerved that the way of two ſhips was remarkably ſmooth, while that of the others was agitated; upon aſking the captain the reaſon of this, he was told that this difference was occaſioned by the waſhing of the kitchen utenſils. Dr. Franklin was not ſatisfied with this reaſon, but ſoon found out the truth of it by a ſeries of experiments, by which he diſcovered that a few drops of oil, the whole of which, united together, would ſcarce have filled a ſpoon, quieted the waves at more than a hundred toiſes diſtance, with a celerity of expanſion as marvellous as its diviſion.

It appears that vegetable oil is more efficacious than animal oil. The calm which is produced by this is reckoned to laſt two hours out at ſea, where this effect requires the effuſion of a conſiderable quantity of oil. The ſacrifice of a few barrels of this fluid hath ſaved ſome great veſſels from ſhipwreck, with which they were threatened by the moſt dreadful tempeſt.

Notwithſtanding an infinite number of authentic facts, it is as yet doubtful whether oil, or in general all fat ſubſtances, whether fluid or ſeparated, have the propertyof lowering the height of the waves. They appear to have no effect but againſt the breakers.

It is ſaid that the ſea breaks when it riſes very high in foaming, and in forming as it were columns of water, which fall down again with great violence. When the ſea is high, the waves aſcend, but follow each other regularly, and the ſhips give way without danger to this motion, which ſeems to carry them up to the ſkies, or down to the infernal regions. But when the waves are violently agitated by winds which blow in contrary directions, or from ſome other cauſe, this is not the caſe. Two ſhips cloſe enough to ſpeak, are ſuddenly hid from each other's ſight. A mountain of water riſes between them, which when it comes to break and fall upon them, is ſufficient to daſh them to pieces. This ſtate of the ſea is not a common one. One may ſail a long time without being expoſed to it. But if the uſe of oil ſhould preſerve but one ſingle veſſel among the multitude of thoſe which cover the ocean in a great number of years, the importance of this eaſy ſuccour would ſtill be very conſiderable.

The fiſhermen of Liſbon, and thoſe of the Bermudas, reſtore calm and tranſparency to the ſea with a little oil, which immediately puts a ſtop to the irregularity of the rays of light, and enables them to perceive the fiſh. The modern divers who go in ſearch of pearls in the bottom of the ſea, accuſtom themſelves, in imitation of the ancients, to fill their mouths with oil, which they throw out drop by drop, in proportion as the darkneſs conceals their prey from them. Some of them gueſs at the preſence of the ſhark, or at the abundance of the herring, in thoſe places where the ſea offers them a calm not to be found in the neighbouring latitudes. Some perſons attribute this to the oil which makes its eſcape from the body of the herring; others ſay that it is preſſed out of the herring by the teeth of the ſhark while he is devouring that fiſh. The ſame method is uſed ſometimes to diſcover the points of rocks concealed by the agitation of the waves, ſometimes to reach land with leſs danger. For this purpoſe ſome ſuſpend behind their boats a parcel of inteſtines filled with the fat of the fulmar or petrel, a bird which throws up in its natural ſtate the oil of the fiſh upon which it feeds. Others, inſtead of this uſe a jar turned upſide down, from which the oil drops gradually through an opening made in the cork. The terrible element, therefore, which hath ſeparated continents from each other; which deluges whole countries; which drives animals and men before it, and which will one day encroach upon their dwellings, may be appeaſed in its wrath, if a feather dipped in oil be paſſed over its ſurface. Who knows what may be the conſequence of this diſcovery, if we may give that name to a piece of information, the knowledge of which cannot be diſputed with Ariſtotle or Pliny? If a feather dipped in oil can ſmooth the waves, what will not be the effect of long wings conſtantly moiſtened with this fluid, and mechanically adapted to our ſhips?

This idea will not fail of exciting the ridicule of our ſuperficial-minded men; but it is not for ſuch that I write. We treat popular opinions with too much contempt. We decide with too much haſte on the poſſibility or impoſſibility of things. In our opinion of Pliny the naturaliſt, we have paſſed from one extreme to the other. Our anceſtors have granted too much to Ariſtotle, while we perhaps have

denied him more than it became men, the moſt informed among whom hath not ſufficient knowledge either to approve or contradict his book on animals. This diſdain might perhaps be excuſed in a Buffon, a Daubenton, or a Linnæus; but it always excites our indignation when we meet with it in him, who, departing from his own ſphere, and neglecting fame which offers itſelf to him, in order to run after that which flies from him, ſhall venture to decide upon the merit of theſe men of genius, with peremptorineſs, which would diſguſt us, if even it were ſupported by the moſt ſtriking and leaſt conteſtible claims.

According to natural right, the fiſhery upon the great bank ought to have been common to all mankind; notwithſtanding which the two powers that had formed colonies in North America, have made very little difficulty of appropriating it to themſelves. Spain, who alone could have any claim to it, and who, from the number of her monks, might have pleaded the neceſſity of aſſerting it, entirely gave up the matter at the laſt peace, ſince which time the Engliſh and French are the only nations that frequent theſe latitudes.

In 1773, France ſent there five veſſels, which formed nine thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-five tons, and the crews of which conſiſted of ſixteen hundred and eighty-eight men. Two millions one hundred and forty-one thouſand cod fiſh were caught, which produced one hundred and twenty-two hogſheads of oil; the entire produce was ſold for 1,421,615 livres [59,233l. 19s. 2d.]

The fiſheries of the rival nation were much more conſiderable. Few of thoſe who were employed in it had come from Europe. Moſt of them came from New England, Nova Scotia, and from the iſland of Newfoundland itſelf. Their veſſels were ſmall, eaſily managed, riſing little above the ſurface of the water, and not liable to be ſtrongly affected by the winds or the agitation of the waves. Theſe veſſels were manned with ſailors more inured to fatigue, more accuſtomed to bear cold, and more uſed to ſtrict diſcipline. They carried with them a bait infinitely ſuperior to that which was found upon the ſpot. Their fiſhery was therefore infinitely ſuperior to that of the French; but as they had leſs opportunities of getting

rid of the green cod than the latter, the greater part of the fiſh which they caught was carried to the neighbouring coaſts, where it was converted into dried cod.

This branch of trade is carried on in two different ways. That which is called the wandering fiſhery belongs to veſſels which ſail every year from Europe to Newfoundland, at the end of March, or in April. As they approach the iſland, they frequently meet with a quantity of ice, driven by the northern currents towards the ſouth, which is broken to pieces by repeated ſhocks, and melts ſooner or later at the return of the heats. Theſe portions of ice are frequently a league in circumference; they are as high as the loftieſt mountains, and extend above ſixty or eighty fathom under water. When joined to ſmaller pieces, they ſometimes occupy a ſpace of a hundred leagues in length, and twenty-five or thirty in breadth. Intereſt, which obliges the mariners to come to their landings as ſoon as poſſible, that they may have their choice of the harbours moſt favourable to the fiſhery, makes them brave the rigour of the ſeaſons and of the elements, which are all in conſpiracy againſt human induſtry. The moſt formidable rampart erected by military art, the dreadful cannonade of a beſieged town, the terrors of the moſt ſkilful and obſtinate ſea-fight, require leſs intrepidity and experience to encounter them, than theſe enormous floating bulwarks, which the ſea oppoſes to theſe ſmall fleets of fiſhermen. But the moſt inſatiable of all paſſions, the thirſt of gold, ſurmounts every obſtacle, and carries the mariner acroſs theſe mountains of ice to the ſpot where the ſhips are to take in their lading.

The firſt thing to be done after landing is to cut wood, and erect or repair ſcaffolds. All hands are employed in this work. When it is finiſhed, the company divide; one half of the crew ſtays aſhore to cure the fiſh, and the other goes on-board in ſmall boats. The boats deſigned for the fiſhery of the caplain carry four men, and thoſe for the cod three. Theſe laſt boats, of which there is the greateſt number, ſail before it is light, generally at the diſtance of three, four, or five, leagues from the coaſt, and return in the evening to the ſcaffolds near the ſea-ſide, where they depoſit the produce of the day.

When one man has taken off the cod's head, and gutted

it, he gives it to another, who ſlices it, and puts it in ſalt, where it remains eight or ten days. After it has been well waſhed, it is laid on gravel, where it is left till it is quite dry. It is then piled up in heaps, and left for ſome days to drain. It is then again laid on the ſtrand, where it continues drying, and takes the colour we ſee it have in Europe.

There are no fatigues whatever to be compared with the labours of this fiſhery, which hardly leaves thoſe who work at it four hours reſt in the night. Happily, the ſalubrity of the climate preſerves the health of the people under ſuch ſevere trials; and theſe labours would be thought nothing of, if they were better rewarded by the produce.

But there are ſome harbours where the ſtrand is at ſo great a diſtance from the ſea, that a great deal of time is loſt in getting to it; and others, in which the bottom is of ſolid rock, and without varec, ſo that the fiſh do not frequent them. There are others again, where the fiſh grow yellow, from a mixture of freſh water with the ſalt; and ſome, in which it is ſcorched by the reverberation of the ſun's rays reflected from the mountains.

Even in the moſt favourable harbours, the people are not always ſure of a ſucceſsful fiſhery. The fiſh cannot abound equally in all parts; it is ſometimes found to the north, ſometimes to the ſouth, and at other times in the middle of the coaſt, according as it is driven by the winds, or attracted by the caplain. The fiſhermen who happen to fix at a diſtance from the places which the fiſh frequent, are very unfortunate, for their expences are all thrown away, becauſe it is impoſſible for them to follow the fiſh with all their neceſſary apparatus.

The fiſhery ends about the beginning of September, becauſe at that time the ſun has not power enough to dry the fiſh; but when it has been ſucceſsful, the managers give over before that time, and make the beſt of their way either to the Caribbee iſlands, or to the Roman catholic ſtates in Europe, that they may not be deprived of the advantages of the firſt markets, which might be loſt by an over-ſtock.

In 1773, one hundred and four veſſels, which compoſed fifteen thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-one tons, and

which were manned by ſeven thouſand two hundred and ſixty-three ſailors, were ſent from the ports of France for this fiſhery. Their labours were rewarded by a hundred and ninety thouſand one hundred and ſixty quintals of fiſh, and two thouſand eight hundred and twenty-five hogſheads of oil. Theſe two articles united produced 3,816,580 livres [159,024l. 3s. 4d.]

But how hath it happened, that an empire, the population of which is immenſe, and its coaſts very extenſive; that a government which has ſuch conſiderable demands, both for its provinces in Europe, and for its colonies in the New World: how hath it happened, that the moſt important of its fiſheries hath been reduced to ſuch a trifle? This event hath been brought on by internal and external cauſes.

The cod fiſh was for a long time overloaded with duties on its entrance into the kingdom, and other taxes were put upon its conſumption. It was hoped in 1764, that theſe grievances were going to ceaſe. Unfortunately the council was divided; ſome of its members objected to the taking off of the duties from the ſalt fiſh, becauſe other members had declared themſelves againſt the exportation of the brandies made from cyder and perry. Reaſon at length prevailed over theſe objections. The treaſury conſented, in 1773, to ſacrifice half of the duties which had till then been required of this branch of induſtry; and two years after they entirely gave up this inconſiderable reſource.

Salt is a very principal article in the cod-fiſhery. This production of the ſea and of the ſun had ariſen to an exceſſive price in France. In 1768 and 1770, fiſhermen were allowed for a year only, and in 1774, for an unlimited time, to purchaſe their ſalt from foreigners. This indulgence hath ſince been refuſed to them, but it will be reſtored. The miniſtry will comprehend that its navigators will never employ, without extreme neceſſity, the ſalt of Spain and Portugal preferably to that of Poitou and Brittany, which is ſo much ſuperior.

When the cod arrives from the north of America, there remains between its ſeveral layers a conſiderable quantity of undiſſolved ſalt. The farmers of the crown made for a long time an abuſe of the aſcendant which they had aſſumi-

ed in the public reſolutions, in order to have this ſalt prohibited as uſeleſs, and even dangerous. A century hath been waſted in ſolicitations, and in giving proofs of its utility, before the government would allow it to be employed, as it is with great advantage, in the fiſheries of the dried cod.

Moſt of the obſtacles, therefore, which a power, not ſufficiently acquainted with its own intereſt, oppoſed to its own proſperity, are at length removed. Let us ſee what idea muſt be formed of thoſe which an odious ſpirit of rivalſhip hath given riſe to.

Newfoundland had formerly two maſters. By the peace of Utrecht, the property of this iſland was confirmed to Great Britain, and the ſubjects of the court of Verſailles preſerved only the right of fiſhing from the Cape of Bonaviſta, turning towards the north as far as Point Rich. But this laſt line of demarkation was not found in any of the charts which had preceded the treaty. The Engliſh geographer Herman Moll was the firſt who noticed it in 1715, and he placed it at Cape Raye.

It was generally believed that it muſt be ſo, when, in 1764, the Britiſh miniſtry pretended, upon the faith of a letter from Prior, who had ſettled the buſineſs of the limits, and of a petition preſented to parliament, in 1716, by the Engliſh fiſhermen, that it was at fifty degrees thirty minutes of latitude that Point Rich ought to be fixed. The council of Louis XIV immediately agreed with an authority which they might have conteſted: but having themſelves diſcovered in their archives a manuſcript chart, which had ſerved in the negociation, and which placed Point Rich in forty-nine degrees of latitude, upon the border, and to the north of the bay of the Three iſlands, they demanded for theſe claims the ſame deference as they had ſhewn for thoſe which had been preſented to them. This was reaſonable and juſt; and yet the French, who ventured to frequent the conteſted ſpace, experienced the diſgrace and the loſs of having their boats confiſcated. Such was the ſtate of things, when hoſtilities were again renewed between the two nations. It is to be hoped, that, at the enſuing peace, the court of Verſailles will obtain a redreſs of this firſt grievance.

They will alſo undoubtedly attend to another, of much

greater importance. By the treaties of Utrecht and of Paris, their ſubjects were to enjoy the ſpace which extends between the capes of Bonaviſta and St. John. Three thouſand Engliſhmen have formed fixed ſettlements there at ſeveral periods, and have thus neceſſarily kept off the navigators who arrived annually from Europe. France hath remonſtrated againſt theſe uſurpations, and hath obtained, that the Britiſh miniſtry ſhould order their fiſhermen to carry their activity elſewhere. This order hath not been carried into execution; nor could it be. Therefore, the court of Verſailles have demanded, as an equivalent, the liberty of fiſhing from Point Rich to the iſlands of St. Peter and Miquelon. This conciliatory plan appeared likely to ſucceed; but the diſturbances that have happened have thrown every thing into confuſion; ſo that this is alſo an arrangement to be expected at the approaching peace.

That peace will likewiſe inſure to the French navigators the excluſive fiſhery of that part of Newfoundland which they are allowed to frequent. This right had not been conteſted before the year 1763: the Engliſh had till then contented themſelves with going there in the winter in order to fiſh for ſeal; they had always finiſhed their buſineſs, and quitted the diſtrict before the ſpring. At the above period, they began to frequent the ſame harbours which were formerly occupied by their competitors alone. The court of Verſailles muſt have been reduced to the humiliation of giving up the coaſts of Labrador, Gaſpé, St. John, and Cape Breton, which abounded in fiſh, before a nation, too proud of its triumphs, could have ventured to form this new pretenſion. Its admirals carried even the inſolence of victory ſo far, as to forbid the French fiſhermen to fiſh for cod on a Sunday, upon a pretence that the Engliſh fiſhermen abſtained from catching any on that day. We are authoriſed to believe, that the council of St. James's did not approve of theſe enterpriſes, ſo palpably contrary to the ſpirit of the treaties. They were ſenſible that the right which France had reſerved to herſelf in ceding the property of Newfoundland, became eluſive, if her fiſhermen could find the places abounding in fiſh occupied by rivals, who, being ſettled upon the neighbouring coaſt, were always ſure to arrive there firſt. Nevertheleſs, they deter-

mined to ſupport, that the enjoyment, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, ought to be common to the two people. They ought to have had more power and more courage than they were poſſeſſed of, to bid defiance to the clamours of oppoſition, and to the complaints which ſuch a ſyſtem of equity muſt neceſſarily excite. But they depended upon the weakneſs of Louis XV, and were not deceived. The circumſtances of the times, and the character of his ſucceſſor, are totally different; this grievance will be redreſſed, as well as many others. It is not even impoſſible, but that the ſtationary fiſheries of this crown may receive ſome augmentation.

By ſtationary fiſhery, we are to underſtand, that which is carried on by the Europeans who have ſettlements on thoſe coaſts of America where the cod is moſt plentiful. It is infinitely more profitable than the wandering fiſhery, becauſe it is attended with much leſs expence, and may be continued much longer. Theſe advantages the French enjoyed, before the errors committed by their government made them loſe the vaſt territories they had in thoſe regions. All the fixed eſtabliſhments left them by the peace of 1763, are reduced to the iſland of St. Peter, and to two iſlands of Miquelon, which they are not even allowed to fortify.

It is ſimple and natural, that a conqueror ſhould appropriate his conqueſts to himſelf as much as he can, and that he ſhould weaken his enemy, while he aggrandizes himſelf; but he ſhould never leave ſubſiſting permanent ſubjects of humiliation, which are of no avail to him, and which inſtil hatred into the hearts of thoſe over whom he hath triumphed. The regret we feel on any loſs diminiſhes and goes off with time. The ſenſe of ſhame becomes daily more poignant, and never ceaſes. If an opportunity ſhould offer of manifeſting itſelf, it then breaks out, with a degree of fury ſo much the greater, as it hath been the longer concealed. Powers of the earth, therefore, be modeſt with reſpect to the terms which you impoſe upon the conquered people, in the monuments by which you mean to perpetuate the memory of your ſucceſs. It is impoſſible to ſubſcribe with ſincerity to an humiliating compact. There are already too many falſe pretences and unjuſt motives for the infringement of treaties, without adding to

them one ſo legitimate and ſo urgent as that of ſhaking off ignominy. Exact only in proſperity, ſuch ſacrifices as you would ſubmit to without ſhame in adverſity. A public monument of inſult, and upon which an enemy who is croſſing your capital cannot turn his eyes without experiencing a deep emotion of indignation, is a perpetual ſtimulus to revenge. If it were ever poſſible, that one of the inſulted nations, in that public ſquare called *La Place des Victoires*, where they are all baſely loaded with chains, by the moſt abject and moſt impudent of all flatteries, ſhould enter victorious into Paris, there is no doubt but that the ſtatue of the proud monarch who approved of this indiſcreet homage would in an inſtant be pulled to pieces; perhaps even a ſpirit of reſentment, for a long time ſtifled, would reduce to aſhes the proud city that exhibits ſuch a monument. You may appear crowned with victory, but you ſhould not ſuffer that your foot ſhould be put upon the head of your enemy. If you have been ſucceſsful, conſider that you may experience a reverſe of fortune; and that there is more diſgrace in being one's-ſelf obliged to deſtroy a monument, than glory in having erected it. The Engliſh would, perhaps, have withdrawn their inſpector from one of the ports of France, had they known with what impatience he was ſuffered there; and how often the French have ſaid to themſelves, are we to ſubmit to this humiliation much longer?

St. Peter hath twenty-five leagues in circumference; it hath a harbour where thirty ſmall veſſels find a ſafe aſylum, a road which is capable of containing about forty ſhips of all ſizes, and coaſts well adapted for the drying of a quantity of cod. In 1773, it contained ſix hundred and four fixed inhabitants, and nearly an equal number of ſailors paſſed their time there in the intervals of the fiſheries.

The two Miquelons, leſs important in every reſpect, had not more than ſix hundred and forty-nine inhabitants; and only one hundred and twenty-ſeven foreign fiſhermen remained there during the winter.

The labours of theſe iſlanders, joined to thoſe of four hundred and fifty men, arrived from Europe upon thirty-five veſſels, produced only thirty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy quintals of cod fiſh, and two hundred and fifty-

three hogſheads of oil, which were ſold at 805,490 livres [33,562l. 18. 8d.]

This profit, added to 1,421,615 livres [59,233l. 19s. 2d.] which were got by the green cod caught on the great bank, and to 3,816,580 livres [159,024l. 3s. 4d.] produced by the cod dried at Newfoundland itſelf, made the French fiſhery amount, in 1773, to the ſum of 6,033,685 livres [251,403l. 10s. 10d.]

Of theſe three products, there were only that of St. Peter and of Miquelon, which received any increaſe in the following years.

Theſe iſlands are only three leagues diſtant from the ſouthern part of Newfoundland. By the treaties, the poſſeſſion of the coaſt is included in this extent. This ſpace ſhould therefore have been in common, or divided between the Engliſh and French fiſhermen, who had an equal right to it; but force, which ſeldom attends to the ſuggeſtions of equity, took every thing to itſelf. Reaſon, or policy, at length gave riſe to more moderate ſentiments; and, in 1776, an equal diſtribution of the canal was agreed to. This alteration enabled St. Peter and the Miquelons to catch, the enſuing year, ſeventy thouſand one hundred and four quintals of dried cod, and ſeventy-ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-four of green cod.

But this increaſe did not enable France to ſupply the foreign markets, as it did twenty years before. Its fiſhery was ſcarce ſufficient for the conſumption of the kingdom. Nothing, or ſcarce any thing, remained for its colonies, the wants of which were ſo extenſive.

This important branch of commerce had paſſed entirely into the hands of its rivals, ſince victory had given to them the north of America. They ſupplied the ſouth of Europe, the Weſt-Indies, and even the French iſlands, with cod, notwithſtanding the tax of four livres [3s. 4d.] per quintal, with which it had been loaded, in order to prevent its entry; and notwithſtanding a gratuity of thirty-five ſols [1s. 5½d.] per hundred-weight, granted to the national fiſhery. Great Britain beheld, with great ſatisfaction, that, beſides the conſumptions in its ſeveral ſettlements, this branch of induſtry yielded annually to its ſubjects of the Old and of the New World, a conſiderable quantity of ſpecie, and a great plenty of commodities.

This object of exportation would have become ſtill more conſiderable, if at the time of the conqueſt the court of London had not had the inhumanity to expel from the iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John the Frenchmen who were ſettled there, who have never yet been replaced, and poſſibly never will be. The ſame bad policy had formerly been followed in Nova Scotia; for it is the property of the jealouſy of ambition to deſtroy, in order to poſſeſs.

Sketch of Nova Scotia. The French ſettle there.

NOVA SCOTIA, by which at preſent is underſtood all the coaſts, of three hundred leagues in length, included between the limits of New England and the ſouth coaſt of the river St. Lawrence, ſeemed at firſt to have comprehended only the great triangular peninſula ſituated about the middle of this vaſt ſpace. This peninſula, which the French called Acadia, is extremely well ſituated to ſerve as an aſylum to the ſhips coming from the Caribbee iſlands. It diſplays to them, at a diſtance, a great number of excellent ports, where ſhips may enter and go out with all winds. There is a great quantity of cod upon this coaſt, and ſtill more upon ſmall banks at the diſtance of a few leagues. The neighbouring continent attracts attention by a few furs. Its arid coaſts afford gravel for drying the fiſh upon, and the goodneſs of the inland grounds invites to every ſpecies of culture. Its woods are fit for many purpoſes. Though this climate be in the temperate zone, the winters are long and ſevere, and followed by ſudden and exceſſive heats, to which generally ſucceed very thick fogs, that laſt a long time. Theſe circumſtances make this rather a diſagreeable country, though it cannot be reckoned an unwholeſome one.

It was in 1604, that the French ſettled in Acadia, four years before they had built the ſmalleſt hut in Canada. Inſtead of fixing towards the eaſt of the peninſula, where they would have had larger ſeas, an eaſy navigation, and plenty of cod, they choſe a ſmall bay, afterwards called French bay, which had none of theſe advantages. It has been ſaid, that they were invited by the beauty of Port Royal, where a thouſand ſhips may ride in ſafety from every wind, where there is an excellent bottom, and at all

times four or five fathom of water, and eighteen at the entrance. It is more probable that the founders of this colony were led to chooſe this ſituation from its vicinity to the countries abounding in furs, of which the excluſive trade had been granted to them. This conjecture is confirmed by the following circumſtance: that both the firſt monopolizers, and thoſe who ſucceeded them, took the utmoſt pains to divert the attention of their countrymen, whom an unſettled diſpoſition, or neceſſity, brought into theſe regions, from the clearing of the woods, the breeding of cattle, fiſhing, and every kind of culture, chooſing rather to engage the induſtry of theſe adventurers in hunting or in trading with the ſavages.

The miſchiefs ariſing from a falſe ſyſtem of adminiſtration, at length diſcovered the fatal effects of excluſive charters. It would be inconſiſtent with truth and the dignity of hiſtory to ſay, that this happened in France, from any attention to the common rights of the nation, at a time when thoſe rights were moſt openly violated. Theſe ſacred rights, which only can inſure the ſafety of the people, while they give a ſanction to the power of kings, were never known in France. But in the moſt abſolute governments, a ſpirit of ambition ſometimes effects, what in equitable and moderate ones is done from principles of juſtice. The miniſters of Louis XIV who wiſhed, by making their maſter reſpectable, to reflect ſome honour on themſelves, perceived that they ſhould not ſucceed without the ſupport of riches; and that a people to whom nature has not given any mines, cannot acquire wealth but by agriculture and commerce. Both theſe reſources had been hitherto precluded in the colonies by the univerſal reſtraints that are always impoſed, when the government interferes improperly in every minute concern. Theſe impediments were at laſt removed; but Acadia either knew not how, or was not able, to make uſe of this liberty.

This colony was yet in its infancy, when the ſettlement, which has ſince become ſo famous under the name of New England, was firſt eſtabliſhed in its neighbourhood. The rapid ſucceſs of the plantations in this new colony did not much attract the notice of the French. This kind of proſperity did not excite any jealouſy between the two nations. But when they began to ſuſpect that there was

likely to be a competition for the beaver trade and furs, they endeavoured to ſecure to themſelves the ſole property of it, and were unfortunate enough to ſucceed.

At their firſt arrival in Acadia, they had found the peninſula, as well as the foreſts of the neighbouring continent, peopled with ſmall ſavage nations, who went under the general name of Abenakies. Though equally fond of war as other ſavage nations, they were more ſociable in their manners. The miſſionaries eaſily inſinuating themſelves among them, had ſo far inculcated their tenets, as to make enthuſiaſts of them. At the ſame time that they taught them their religion, they inſpired them with that hatred which they themſelves entertained for the Engliſh name. This fundamental article of their new worſhip, being that which made the ſtrongeſt impreſſion on their ſenſes, and the only one that favoured their paſſion for war, they adopted it with all the rage that was natural to them. They not only refuſed to make any kind of exchange with the Engliſh, but alſo frequently diſturbed and ravaged the frontiers of that nation. Their attacks became more frequent, more obſtinate, and more regular, after they had choſen St. Caſteins, formerly captain of the regiment of Carignan, for their commander, who was ſettled among them, had married one of their women, and conformed in every reſpect to their mode of life.

When the Engliſh ſaw that all efforts, either to reconcile the ſavages, or to deſtroy them in the foreſts, were ineffectual, they fell upon Acadia, which they looked upon, with reaſon, as the only cauſe of all theſe calamities. Whenever the leaſt hoſtility took place between the two mother countries, the peninſula was attacked. Unable to procure any aſſiſtance from Canada, on account of its diſtance, and having but a feeble defence in Port Royal, which was only ſurrounded by a few palliſades, it was conſtantly taken. It undoubtedly afforded ſome ſatisfaction to the New Englanders to ravage this colony, and to retard its progreſs; but ſtill this was not ſufficient to remove the ſuſpicions excited by a nation always more formidable by what ſhe is able to do, than by what ſhe really does. Obliged as they were, however unwillingly, to reſtore their conqueſt at each treaty of peace, they waited with impatience till Great Britain ſhould acquire ſuch a ſuperiority

as would enable her to diſpenſe with this reſtitution. The events of the war on account of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion brought on the deciſive moment; and the court of Verſailles was for ever deprived of a poſſeſſion of which it had never known the importance.

France is compelled to cede Nova Scotia to England.

THE ardour which the Engliſh had ſhewn for the poſſeſſion of this territory did not manifeſt itſelf afterwards in the care they took to maintain or to improve it. Having built a very ſlight fortification at Port Royal, which they called Annapolis, in honour of Queen Anne, they contented themſelves with putting a very ſmall garriſon in it. The indifference ſhewn by the government was adopted by the nation, a circumſtance not uſual in a free country. Not more than five or ſix Engliſh families went over to Acadia, which ſtill remained inhabited by the firſt coloniſts, who were only perſuaded to ſtay upon a promiſe made them of never being compelled to bear arms againſt their ancient country. Such was the attachment which the French then had for the honour of their country. Cheriſhed by the government, reſpected by foreign nations, and attached to their king by a ſeries of proſperities which had rendered their name illuſtrious, and aggrandiſed their power, they poſſeſſed that patriotic ſpirit which is the effect of ſucceſs. They eſteemed it an honour to bear the name of Frenchmen, and could not think of foregoing the title. The Acadians therefore, who, in ſubmitting to a new yoke, had ſworn never to bear arms againſt their former ſtandards were called the French neutrals.

What a powerful inducement is this example of attachment, as well as a multitude of others which have preceded and followed it, to the ſovereign of France, to exert himſelf inceſſantly for the happineſs of ſuch a nation; of a nation ſo mild, ſo proud, and ſo generous? Treaſon hath been ſometimes the crime of an individual, or of a particular ſociety, but it was never that of the ſubjects in general. The French are the people who know how to ſuffer with infinite patience the longeſt and moſt cruel vexations, and who demonſtrate the moſt ſincere, the moſt ſtriking tranſports of gratitude, at the leaſt token of the

clemency of their ſovereign. They love and cheriſh him; and it depends upon him only to be adored by them. The ſovereign whom they ſhould deſpiſe would be the moſt contemptible of men; he whom they ſhould hate would be the worſt of ſovereigns. Notwithſtanding all the efforts that have been made, during a ſeries of ages, to ſtifle in our hearts the ſentiment of patriotiſm, it exiſts not, perhaps, among any people in a more lively and energetic manner. Witneſs our mirth at thoſe glorious events, which, however, will not relieve our miſery. What ſhould we not be, if public felicity were to ſucceed to the glory of our arms?

There were twelve or thirteen hundred Acadians ſettled in the capital; the reſt were diſperſed in the neighbouring country. No magiſtrate was ever appointed to rule over them; and they were never acquainted with the laws of England. No rents or taxes of any kind were ever exacted from them. Their new ſovereign ſeemed to have forgotten them; and they were equally ſtrangers to him.

Manners of the French who remained ſubject to the Engliſh government in Nova Scotia.

HUNTING, which had formerly been the delight of the colony, and might ſtill have ſupplied it with ſubſiſtence, had no further attraction for a ſimple and quiet people, and gave way to agriculture. It had been begun in the marſhes and the low lands, by repelling the ſea and rivers, which covered theſe plains, with dikes. Theſe grounds yielded fifty times as much as before, and afterwards fifteen or twenty times as much at leaſt. Wheat and oats ſucceeded beſt in them, but they likewiſe produced rye, barley, and maize. There were alſo potatoes in great plenty, the uſe of which was become common.

At the ſame time the immenſe meadows were covered with numerous flocks. Sixty thouſand head of horned cattle were computed there; and moſt of the families had ſeveral horſes, though the tillage was carried on by oxen.

The habitations, built entirely with wood, were extremely convenient, and furniſhed as neatly as a ſubſtantial farmer's houſe in Europe. The people bred a great deal of poultry of all kinds, which made a variety in their food, which was in general wholeſome and plentiful. Their

common drink was beer and cyder, to which they ſometimes added rum.

Their uſual clothing was in general the produce of their own flax and hemp, or the fleeces of their own ſheep. With theſe they made common linens and coarſe cloths. If any of them had any inclination for articles of greater luxury, they procured them from Annapolis or Louiſburg, and gave in exchange corn, cattle, or furs.

The neutral French had no other articles to diſpoſe of among their neighbours, and made ſtill fewer exchanges among themſelves, becauſe each ſeparate family was able, and had been uſed, to provide for its wants. They, therefore, knew nothing of paper currency, which was ſo common throughout the reſt of North America. Even the ſmall quantity of ſpecie, which had ſtolen into the colony did not promote that circulation, which is the greateſt advantage that can be derived from it.

Their manners were of courſe extremely ſimple. There never was a cauſe, either civil or criminal, of importance enough to be carried before the court of judicature eſtabliſhed at Annapolis. Whatever little differences aroſe from time to time among them, were amicably adjuſted by their elders. All their public acts were drawn by their paſtors, who had likewiſe the keeping of their wills, for which, and their religious ſervices, the inhabitants voluntarily gave them a twenty-ſeventh part of their harveſts.

Theſe were plentiful enough to ſupply more than a ſufficiency to fulfil every act of liberality. Real miſery was entirely unknown, and benevolence prevented the demands of poverty. Every misfortune was relieved, as it were, before it could be felt; and good was univerſally diſpenſed, without oſtentation on the part of the giver, and without humiliating the perſon who received. Theſe people were, in a word, a ſociety of brethren, every individual of which was equally ready to give and to receive what he thought the common right of mankind.

So perfect a harmony naturally prevented all thoſe connections of gallantry which are ſo often fatal to the peace of families. There never was an inſtance in this ſociety of an unlawful commerce between the two ſexes. This evil was prevented by early marriages; for no one paſſed his youth in a ſtate of celibacy. As ſoon as a young man

came to the proper age, the community built him a houſe, broke up the lands about it, ſowed them, and ſupplied him with all the neceſſaries of life for a twelvemonth. Here he received the partner whom he had choſen, and who brought him her portion in flocks. This new family grew and proſpered like the others. They all together amounted to eighteen thouſand ſouls.

Who will not be affected with the innocent manners, and the tranquillity of this fortunate colony? Who will not wiſh for the duration of its happineſs? Who will not conſtruct, in imagination, an impenetrable wall, that may ſeparate theſe coloniſts from their unjuſt and turbulent neighbours? The calamities of the people have no period; but, on the contrary, the end of their felicity is always at hand. A long ſeries of favourable events is neceſſary to raiſe them from miſery, while one inſtant is ſufficient to plunge them into it. May the Acadians be excepted from this general curſe. But, alas! it is to be feared that they will not.

Great Britain perceived in 1749, of what conſequence the poſſeſſion of Acadia might be to her commerce. The peace, which neceſſarily left a great number of men without employment, furniſhed an opportunity, by the diſbanding of the troops, for peopling and cultivating a vaſt and fertile territory. The Britiſh miniſtry offered particular advantages to all perſons who choſe to go over and ſettle in Acadia. Every ſoldier, ſailor, and workman, was to have fifty acres of land for himſelf, and ten for every perſon he carried over in his family. All non-commiſſioned officers were allowed eighty for themſelves, and 15 for their wives and children; enſigns 200; lieutenants 300; captains 400; and all officers of a higher rank 600; together with thirty for each of their dependents. The land was to be tax free for the firſt ten years, and never to pay above one livre two ſols ſix deniers [about 1s.] for fifty acres. Beſide this, the government engaged to advance or reimburſe the expences of paſſage, to build houſes, to furniſh all the neceſſary inſtruments for fiſhery or agriculture, and to defray the expences of ſubſiſtence for the firſt year. Theſe encouragments determined three thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty perſons, in the month of May 1749, to go to America, rather than run the riſk of ſtarving in Europe.

It was intended that theſe new inhabitants ſhould form a ſettlement to the ſouth-eaſt of Acadia, in a place which the ſavages formerly called Chebucto, and the Engliſh, Halifax. This ſituation was preferred to ſeveral others where the ſoil was better, for the ſake of eſtabliſhing in its neighbourhood an excellent cod fiſhery, and fortifying one of the fineſt harbours in America. But as it was the part of the country moſt favourable for the chaſe, the Engliſh were obliged to diſpute it with the Micmac Indians, by whom it was moſt frequented. Theſe ſavages defended with obſtinacy a territory they held from nature; and it was not without very great loſſes that the Engliſh drove them from their poſſeſſions.

This war was not entirely finiſhed, when ſome diſturbances began to break out among the neutral French. Theſe people, whoſe manners were ſo ſimple, and who enjoyed ſuch liberty, had already perceived that their independence muſt neceſſarily ſuffer ſome encroachments from any power that ſhould turn its views to the countries they inhabited. To this apprehenſion was added that of ſeeing their religion in danger. Their prieſts, either heated by their own enthuſiaſm, or ſecretly inſtigated by the governors of Canada, made them believe all they choſe to ſay againſt the Engliſh whom they called heretics. This word, which has ſo powerful an influence on deluded minds, determined this happy American colony to quit their habitations and remove to New France, where lands were offered them. This reſolution many of them executed immediately, without conſidering the conſequences of it; the reſt were preparing to follow as ſoon as they had provided for their ſafety. The Engliſh government, either from policy or caprice, determined to prevent them by an act of treachery, always baſe and cruel in thoſe whoſe power gives them an opportunity of purſuing milder methods. Under a pretence of exacting a renewal of the oath which they had taken at the time of their becoming Engliſh ſubjects, they called together all the remaining inhabitants, and put them on-board of ſhip. They were conveyed to the other Engliſh colonies, where the greater part of them died of grief and vexation rather than want.

Such are the effects of national jealouſies, and of the rapaciouſneſs of government, to which men, as well as their

property, become a prey. What our enemies loſe is reckoned an advantage, what they gain is looked upon as a loſs. When a town cannot be taken, it is ſtarved; when it cannot be kept, it is burnt to aſhes, or its foundations razed. A ſhip or a fortified town is blown up, rather than the ſailors or the garriſon will ſurrender. A deſpotic government ſeparates its enemies from its ſlaves by immenſe deſerts, to prevent the irruptions of the one and the emigrations of the other. Thus it is that Spain has rather choſen to make a wilderneſs of her own country, and a grave of America, than to divide its riches with any other of the European nations. The Dutch have been guilty of every public and private crime to deprive other commercial nations of the ſpice trade. They have frequently thrown whole cargoes into the ſea rather than they would ſell them at a low price. France rather choſe to give up Louiſiana to the Spaniards, than to let it fall into the hands of the Engliſh; and England deſtroyed the neutral French inhabitants of Acadia, to prevent their returning to France. Can it be ſaid after this, that policy and ſociety were inſtituted for the happineſs of mankind? Yes, they were inſtituted to ſcreen the wicked, and to ſecure the powerful.

Preſent ſtate of Nova Scotia.

SINCE the emigration of a people who owed their happineſs to their virtuous obſcurity, Nova Scotia remained in a languid ſtate. Envy, which had depopulated this country, ſeemed to have ſhed its baneful influence over it. The puniſhment of injuſtice fell at leaſt upon the authors of it. At laſt a few unfortunate people were driven there by the various calamities they experienced in Europe. They amounted in 1769 to twenty-ſix thouſand; moſt of them were diſperſed, and were only collected in any number at Halifax, Annapolis, and Lunenburg. This laſt colony, formed by Germans, was the moſt flouriſhing. It owed its improvements to that fondneſs for labour, to that well-regulated economy, which are the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of a wiſe and warlike nation, who, contenting themſelves with defending their own country, ſeldom leave it, except to go and cultivate diſtricts which they are not ambitious of conquering.

In the year 1769, the colony ſent out fourteen veſſels and one hundred and forty-eight boats, which together

amounted to ſeven thouſand three hundred and twenty-four tons, and received twenty-two veſſels and one hundred and twenty boats, which together made up ſeven thouſand and ſix tons. They conſtructed three ſloops which did not exceed one hundred and ten tons burthen.

Their exportation for Great Britain, and for the other parts of the globe, did not amount to more than 729,850 livres 12 ſols 9 deniers [about 30,410l. 8s. 10d.]

Notwithſtanding theſe encouragements, which the mother country had inceſſantly beſtowed upon this colony, in order to accelerate its cultures, it had itſelf borrowed 450,000 livres [18,750l.] for which it paid an intereſt of ſix per cent. It had not then any paper currency, and hath not uſed any ſince.

The troubles which at preſent agitate North America have not extended to Nova Scotia. It hath even drawn ſome advantages from them. Its population hath ariſen to forty thouſand ſouls, by the arrival of ſome cautious or puſillanimous citizens who fled from the horrors of war. The neceſſity of ſupplying the wants of the Britiſh armies and fleets hath occaſioned a great increaſe of proviſions. An immenſe quantity of ſpecie, circulated by the troops, hath given life to every thing, and communicated a rapid motion to men and things.

Should the other colonies at length detach themſelves from the mother country, and ſhould it retain Nova Scotia, this province, which was very inſignificant, will become very important. It is ſupplied with every advantage that may inſure its proſperity. Its paſtures are proper for the breeding of cattle, and its lands for the cultivation of corn, and eſpecially for the growing of flax and hemp. There are few coaſts known to be ſo favourable for large fiſheries; and its boats can with eaſe perform ſeven voyages to the great bank of Newfoundland, while thoſe of New England can only perform five, and with a great deal of difficulty. The Engliſh iſlands will furniſh it with a certain, eaſy, and almoſt excluſive, mart for its merchandize.

There can be no fear of any invaſion, becauſe Halifax, which was formerly defended only by a few batteries properly or improperly placed, is at preſent ſurrounded by good fortifications, which may ſtill be increaſed.

Foundation of New England.

NEW-ENGLAND, like the mother country, has ſignalized itſelf by many acts of violence, and has been actuated by the ſame turbulent ſpirit. It took its riſe in troubleſome times, and its infant ſtate was diſturbed with many dreadful commotions. It was diſcovered in the beginning of the laſt century, and called North Virginia; but no Europeans ſettled there till the year 1608. The firſt colony, which was weak and ill directed, did not ſucceed; and for ſome time after, there were only a few adventurers who came over at times in the ſummer, built themſelves temporary huts, for the ſake of trading with the ſavages, and, like them, diſappeared again for the reſt of the year. Fanaticiſm, which had depopulated America to the ſouth, was deſtined to re-people it in the north. Some Engliſh preſbyterians, who had been driven from their own country, and had taken refuge in Holland, that univerſal aſylum of liberty, reſolved to found a church for their ſect in the New Hemiſphere. They therefore purchaſed, in 1621, the charter of the Engliſh North-Virginia company; for they were not reduced to ſuch a ſtate of poverty, as to be obliged to wait till proſperity became the reward of their virtues.

On the 6th of September 1621, they embarked at Plymouth, to the number of 120 perſons, under the guidance of enthuſiaſm, which, whether founded upon error or truth, is always productive of great actions. They landed at the beginning of a very hard winter, and found a country entirely covered with wood, which offered a very melancholy proſpect to men already exhauſted with the fatigues of their voyage. Near one half periſhed either by cold, the ſcurvy, or diſtreſs; the reſt were kept alive, by that ſtrength of character which they had acquired under the perſecution of epiſcopal tyranny. But their courage was beginning to droop, when it was revived by the arrival of ſixty ſavage warriors, who came to them in the ſpring, headed by their chief. Freedom ſeemed to exult that ſhe had thus brought together, from the extremities of the world, two ſuch different colonies; who immediately entered into a reciprocal alliance of friendſhip and protection. The old inhabitants aſſigned for ever to the new ones all the lands in the neighbourhood of the ſettlement they had

formed under the name of New Plymouth; and one of the ſavages who underſtood a little Engliſh, ſtaid to teach them how to cultivate the maize, and inſtruct them in the manner of fiſhing upon their coaſt.

This humanity enabled the colony to wait for the companions they expected from Europe, with ſeeds, with domeſtic animals, and with every aſſiſtance they wanted. At firſt the ſettlement advanced but ſlowly, ſince, in 1629, it contained no more than three hundred perſons: but the perſecution of the puritans, which increaſed daily in England, haſtened the augmentation of their number in America. Such multitudes of them arrived the following year, that it became neceſſary to diſperſe them. The colonies which they eſtabliſhed formed the province of Maſſachuſets bay. The colonies of New Hampſhire, Connecticut, and of Rhode iſland, ſoon ſprang up from this ſettlement; and theſe were ſo many ſeparate ſtates, each of which obtained from the court of London a diſtinct charter.

The blood of martyrs hath ever been, in all places, and at all times, a ſource of proſelytiſm. A few eccleſiaſtics only, deprived of their benefices on account of their opinions, had at firſt paſſed into America, and a few obſcure ſectaries, whoſe new tenets attracted numbers from among the people. The emigrations became gradually more common amongſt other claſſes of citizens; and in proceſs of time, men of the firſt rank, who had been drawn into puritaniſm by ambition, humour, or conſcience, thought of ſecuring to themſelves an aſylum in thoſe diſtant climates. They had cauſed houſes to be built, and lands to be cleared, with a view of retiring there, if their endeavours in the cauſe of civil and religious liberty ſhould prove abortive. The ſame fanatical ſpirit that had introduced anarchy into the mother country, kept the colony in a ſtate of ſubordination, or rather a ſeverity of manners, had the ſame effect as laws in a ſavage country.

Form of government eſtabliſhed at New England.

The inhabitants of New England lived peaceably for ſometime without thinking of ſettling their felicity upon a firm baſis. Not that their charter had not authoriſed them to eſtabliſh any mode of government they might chooſe, but theſe enthuſiaſts did not

think of it; and government did not pay a ſufficient attention to them to urge them to ſecure their own tranquillity. At length they grew ſenſible of the neceſſity of giving ſome conſiſtency to their colony. At this period it was agreed, that there ſhould be an aſſembly holden every year, the deputies of which ſhould be choſen by the people, in which none but thoſe who were members of the eſtabliſhed church could have a ſeat, and over which a chief was to preſide, without any diſtinct authority. Two remarkable regulations were at the ſame time made: the firſt ſtated the price of corn, and by the ſecond the ſavages were deprived of all the lands which they ſhould not cultivate; and all Europeans were prohibited, under a heavy penalty, to ſell them any ſtrong liquors or warlike ſtores.

The national council were charged with the regulation of public affairs. They were alſo obliged to determine upon all ſuits, but by the lights of reaſon alone, and without the aſſiſtance or embaraſſments of any code.

Neither were any criminal laws inſtituted; but thoſe of the Jews were adopted. Witchcraft, blaſphemy, adultery, and falſe teſtimony, were puniſhed with death. Children, who were ſo unnatural as to ſtrike or to curſe the authors of their being, drew upon themſelves the ſame puniſhment. All perſons who were detected either in lying, drunkenneſs, or dancing, were ordered to be publicly whipped; and amuſements were forbidden equally with vices and crimes. Swearing, and the violation of the Sabbath, were expiated by a heavy fine. Another indulgence allowed was, to atone by a fine for a neglect of prayer, or for uttering a raſh oath.

It is alſo known, that government forbade, on pain of death, the puritans to worſhip images; and that the ſame puniſhment was decreed againſt Roman catholic prieſts, who ſhould return into the colony after having been baniſhed.

Fanaticiſm occaſions great calamities in New England.

THE unfortunate members of the colony, who, leſs violent than their brethren, ventured to deny the coercive power of the magiſtrate in matters of religion, were the objects of perſecution. This was conſidered as blaſphemy by thoſe very divines who had ra-

ther chofen to quit their country than to ſhew any defe-rence to epiſcopal authority. By that natural propenſity of the human heart, which leads men from the love of independence to that of tyranny, they had changed their opinions as they changed the climate; and only ſeemed to arrogate freedom of thought to themſelves, in order to deny it to others. This ſyſtem of intoleration was ſupported by the ſervices of the law, which attempted to put a ſtop to every difference in opinion, by inflicting capital puniſhment on all who diſſented. Thoſe who were either convicted, or even ſuſpected, of entertaining ſentiments of toleration, were expoſed to ſuch cruel oppreſſions, that they were forced to fly from their firſt aſylum, and ſeek refuge in another leſs expoſed to diſturbances.

This intemperate religious zeal extended itſelf to matters in themſelves of the greateſt indifference. A proof of this is found in the following public declaration, tranſcribed from the regiſters of the colony:

"It is a circumſtance univerſally acknowledged, that "the cuſtom of wearing long hair, after the manner of "immoral perſons and of the ſavage Indians, can only have "been introduced into England, but in ſacrilegious con-"tempt of the expreſs command of God, who declares, "that it is a ſhameful practice for any man who has the "leaſt care for his ſoul to wear long hair. As this abomi-"nation excites the indignation of all pious perſons, we, "the magiſtrates, in our zeal for the purity of the faith, "do expreſsly and authentically declare, that we condemn "the impious cuſtom of letting the hair grow; a cuſtom "which we look upon to be very indecent and diſhoneſt, "which horribly diſguiſes men, and is offenſive to modeſt "and ſober perſons, inaſmuch as it corrupts good manners. "We, therefore, being juſtly incenſed againſt this ſcan-"dalous cuſtom, do deſire, adviſe, and earneſtly requeſt, "all the elders of our continent, zealouſly to ſhew their "averſion from this odious practice, to exert all their "power to put a ſtop to it, and eſpecially to take care "that the members of their churches be not infected with "it; in order that thoſe perſons, who, notwithſtanding "theſe rigorous prohibitions, and the means of correction, "that ſhall be uſed on this account, ſhall ſtill perſiſt in

"this cuſtom, may have both God and man at the ſame "time againſt them."

This ſeverity, which a man exerciſes againſt himſelf or againſt his fellow-creatures, and which makes him firſt the victim, then the oppreſſor, ſoon exerted itſelf againſt the quakers. They were whipped, baniſhed, and impriſoned. The proud ſimplicity of theſe new enthuſiaſts, who in the midſt of tortures and ignominy praiſed God, and called for bleſſings upon men, inſpired a reverence for their perſons and opinions, and gained them a number of proſelytes. This circumſtance exaſperated their proſecutors, and hurried them on to the moſt atrocious acts of violence. They cauſed five of them, who had returned clandeſtinely from baniſhment, to be hanged. It ſeemed as if the Engliſh had come to America to exerciſe upon their own countrymen the ſame cruelties the Spaniards had uſed againſt the Indians; whether it was that the change of climate had rendered the Europeans more ferocious, or that the fury of religious zeal can only be extinguiſhed in the deſtruction of its apoſtles and its martyrs. This ſpirit of perſecution was, however, at laſt ſuppreſſed by the interpoſition of the mother country, from whence it had been brought.

A people, whoſe character was naturally diſpoſed to melancholy, were become gloomy and ſtern. The blood of their monarch was ſtill before them. Some of them lamented in ſecret this great aſſaſſination, others would willingly have celebrated it as a feſtival. The nation was divided between two violent parties. On one hand revenge was meditated; on the other, it was endeavoured to prevent it by informations, which were always followed by exile, impriſonment, or capital puniſhment. Reciprocal miſtruſt prevailed between fathers and children, and between friends. The ſuſpicious tyrant was ſurrounded by ſuſpicious courtiers, who kept up his apprehenſions, either to raiſe themſelves to the high poſts of the ſtate, or to expel their enemies or their rivals from them. The axe was ſuſpended over every head. The frequency of rebellions occaſioned a frequency of executions, and theſe repeated executions of illuſtrious as well as of obſcure citizens, perpetually maintained the popular terror. At length Cromwell diſappeared. Enthuſiaſm, hypocriſy, and fanaticiſm, which compoſed his character; factions, rebellions, and

proſcriptions, were all buried with him; and England began to have the proſpect of calmer days. Charles the Second, at his reſtoration, introduced among his ſubjects a ſocial turn, a taſte for convivial pleaſures and diverſions, and for all thoſe amuſements he had been engaged in while he was travelling from one court to another in Europe, to endeavour to regain the crown which his father had loſt upon a ſcaffold. The propagators of his principles were a multitude of women of gallantry, of corrupt favourites, and licentious men of wit. In a ſhort time he brought on a general change of manners; and nothing but ſuch a revolution could poſſibly have ſecured the tranquillity of his government upon a throne ſtained with blood. He was one of thoſe voluptuaries, whom the love of ſenſual pleaſures ſometimes excites to ſentiments of compaſſion and humanity. Moved with the ſufferings of the quakers, he put a ſtop to them by a proclamation in 1661; but he was never able totally to extinguiſh the ſpirit of perſecution that prevailed in America.

The colony had placed at their head Henry Vane, the ſon of that Sir Henry Vane who had ſuch a remarkable ſhare in the diſturbances of his country. This obſtinate and enthuſiaſtic young man, in every thing reſembling his father, unable either to live peaceably himſelf, or to ſuffer others to remain quiet, had contrived to revive the obſcure and obſolete queſtions of grace and free will. The diſputes upon theſe points ran very high, and would probably have plunged the colony into a civil war, if ſeveral of the ſavage nations united had not happened at that very time to fall upon the plantations of the diſputants, and to maſſacre great numbers of them. The coloniſts, heated with their theological conteſts, paid at firſt very little attention to this conſiderable loſs. But the danger at length became ſo urgent and ſo general, that all took up arms. As ſoon as the enemy was repulſed, the colony reſumed its former diſſenſions; and this frenzy manifeſted itſelf in 1692, by ſuch atrocious acts of violence, as were ſcarce ever recorded in hiſtory.

There lived in a town of New England, called Salem, two young women, who were ſubject to convulſions, accompanied with extraordinary ſymptoms. Their father, miniſter of the church, thought that they were bewitched;

and having in conſequence caſt his ſuſpicions upon an Indian girl who lived in his houſe, he compelled her by harſh treatment to confeſs that ſhe was a witch. Other women, upon hearing this, ſeduced by the pleaſure of exciting the public attention, immediately believed that the convulſions which proceeded only from the nature of their ſex, were owing to the ſame cauſe. Three citizens, caſually named, were immediately thrown into priſon, accuſed of witchcraft, hanged, and their bodies left expoſed to wild beaſts and birds of prey. A few days after, ſixteen other perſons, together with a counſellor, who, becauſe he refuſed to plead againſt them, was ſuppoſed to ſhare in their guilt, ſuffered in the ſame manner. From this inſtant, the imagination of the multitude was inflamed with theſe horrid and gloomy ſcenes. The innocence of youth, the infirmities of age, virgin modeſty, fortune, honour, virtue, and the moſt dignified employments of the ſtate, were no ſecurity againſt the ſuſpicions of a people infatuated with viſionary ſuperſtition. Children of ten years of age were put to death; young girls were ſtripped naked, and the marks of witchcraft ſearched for upon their bodies with the moſt indecent curioſity: thoſe ſpots of the ſcurvy which age impreſſes upon the bodies of old men, were taken for evident ſigns of the infernal power. Fanaticiſm, wickedneſs, and vengeance, united, ſelected their victims at pleaſure. In default of witneſſes, torments were employed to extort confeſſions dictated by the executioners themſelves. If the magiſtrates, tired with executions, refuſed to puniſh, they were themſelves accuſed of the crimes they tolerated; the very miniſters of religion raiſed falſe witneſſes againſt them, who made them forfeit with their lives the tardy remorſe excited in them by humanity. Dreams, apparitions, terror, and conſternation, of every kind, increaſed theſe prodigies of folly and horror. The priſons were filled, the gibbets left ſtanding, and all the citizens involved in gloomy apprehenſions. The moſt prudent quitted a country ſtained with the blood of its inhabitants; and thoſe that remained wiſhed only for peace in the grave. In a word, nothing leſs than the total and immediate ſubverſion of the colony was expected; when on a ſudden, in the height of the ſtorm, the waves ſubſided, and a calm enſued. All eyes were opened at once, and the exceſs of the evil

awakened the minds which it had at firſt ſtupified. Bitter and painful remorſe was the immediate conſequence; the mercy of God was implored by a general faſt, and public prayers were offered up to aſk forgiveneſs for the preſumption of having ſuppoſed that Heaven could have been pleaſed with ſacrifices with which it could only have been offended.

Poſterity will, probably, never know exactly what was the cauſe or remedy of this dreadful diſorder. It had, perhaps, its firſt origin in the melancholy which theſe perſecuted enthuſiaſts had brought with them from their own country, which had increaſed with the ſcurvy they had contracted at ſea, and had gathered freſh ſtrength from the vapours and exhalations of a ſoil newly broken up, as well as from the inconveniencies and hardſhips inſeparable from a change of climate and manner of living. The contagion, however, ceaſed like all other epidemical diſtempers, exhauſted by its very communication; as all the diſorders of the imagination are expelled in the tranſports of a delirium. A perfect calm ſucceeded this agitation; and the puritans of New England have never ſince been ſeized with ſo gloomy a fit of enthuſiaſm.

But though the colony has renounced the perſecuting ſpirit which hath ſtained all religious ſects with blood, it has preſerved ſome ſtrong marks of that fanaticiſm and ferociouſneſs which had ſignalized the melancholy days in which it took its riſe.

The ſmall-pox, which is leſs frequent, but more deſtructive, in America, than it is in Europe, occaſioned, in 1721, inexpreſſible ravages in the province of Maſſachuſets bay. This calamity ſuggeſted the idea of inoculation. In order to prove the efficacy of this fortunate preſervative, a ſkilful and courageous phyſician inoculated his wife, his children, his ſervants, and himſelf. He was immediately inſulted, conſidered as an infernal monſter, and threatened with aſſaſſination. Theſe outrages not having been able to prevent a very promiſing young man from having recourſe to this ſalutary practice, a wicked ſuperſtitious perſon got up to his window in the night-time, and threw a grenade into his room, filled with combuſtible materials.

The moſt reaſonable among the citizens were not diſguſted with theſe atrocious acts; and their indignation was

exerted rather againſt thoſe bold ſpirits who were accuſed of preferring the ſkill of man to the care of Providence. The people were confirmed by theſe extravagant doctrines, in the reſolution of rejecting a novelty, which was to draw down upon the whole ſtate the infallible and terrible effects of the divine wrath. The magiſtrates, who were apprehenſive of an inſurrection, ordered the phyſicians to aſſemble; and they, either from conviction, puſillanimity, or policy, declared inoculation dangerous. It was prohibited by a bill, which was received with unparalleled applauſe.

Europeans, you feel your hair riſing on your heads; you ſhudder with horror; and you have forgotten the obſtacles which this ſalutary practice met with among yourſelves; and you do not conſider, that two hundred years ago you would have committed the ſame outrages. Acknowledge, therefore, the important ſervices you have received from the progreſs of ſcience; and entertain that reſpect and gratitude for the promoters of it, which you owe to uſeful men, who have preſerved you from ſo many crimes, which ignorance and ſuperſtition would otherwiſe have made you commit.

A few years after, a new ſcene was exhibited, ſtill more atrocious. For a long time paſt an odious reward had been granted in theſe provinces to ſuch of the coloniſts as ſhould put an Indian to death. This reward was increaſed in 1724 to 2,250 livres [93l. 15s.] John Lovewell, encouraged by ſo conſiderable a premium, formed a conſpiracy of men as ferocious as himſelf, to go in queſt of the ſavages. One day he diſcovered ten of them quietly ſleeping round a large fire. He murdered them, carried their ſcalps to Boſton, and received the promiſed reward. After this, have you, ye Anglo-Americans, any reproaches to make to the Spaniards? Have they ever done, or could they poſſibly ever do, any thing more inhuman? And yet you were men, civilized men; and you boaſted of being chriſtians. No, you were rather monſters, fit to be exterminated; you were monſters, againſt whom a league that might have been formed would have been leſs criminal than the one that Lovewell formed againſt the ſavages.

[The author here introduces the ſtory of Polly Baker,

who was brought before the magiſtrates, and convicted the fifth time of having had a baſtard child. He gives the ſpeech ſhe is ſaid to have made on this occaſion at full length. But as this ſpeech is in the hands of every Engliſh reader, the tranſlator has judged it unneceſſary to ſwell his tranſlation with it. The author's reaſoning upon it is as follows:]

This ſpeech produced an affecting change in the minds of all the audience. She was not only acquitted of either penalty or corporal puniſhment, but her triumph was ſo complete, that one of her judges married her. So ſuperior is the voice of reaſon to all the powers of ſtudied eloquence. But popular prejudice has reſumed its influence; whether it be, that the repreſentations of nature alone are often ſtifled by an attention to political advantages, or to the benefit of ſociety; or that, under the Engliſh government, where celibacy is not enjoined by religion, there is leſs excuſe for an illicit commerce between the ſexes, than in thoſe countries where the clergy, the nobility, luxury, poverty, and the ſcandalous example given by the court and the church, all concur in degrading and corrupting the married ſtate, in rendering it burthenſome.

New England has ſome remedy againſt bad laws in the conſtitution of its mother country, where the people, who have the legiſlative power in their own hands, are at liberty to correct abuſes; and it has others derived from its ſituation, which open a vaſt field to induſtry and population.

Extent, natural hiſtory, manufactures, exportations, &c. of New England.

This colony, bounded on the north by Canada, on the weſt by New York, and on the eaſt and ſouth by Nova Scotia and the ocean, extends full three hundred miles along the ſea coaſt, and upwards of fifty miles in the inland parts.

The clearing of the lands is not directed by chance as in the other provinces. This matter, from the firſt, was ſubjected to laws which are ſtill religiouſly obſerved. No citizen whatever has the liberty of ſettling even upon unoccupied land. The government, deſirous of preſerving all its members from the inroads of the ſavages, and of placing

them in a condition to ſhare in the protection of a well-regulated ſociety, hath ordered that whole villages ſhould be farmed at once. As ſoon as ſixty families offer to build a church, maintain a clergyman, and pay a ſchoolmaſter, the general aſſembly allot them a ſituation, and permit them to have two repreſentatives in the legiſlative body of the colony. The diſtrict aſſigned them always borders upon the land already cleared, and generally contains ſix thouſand ſquare acres. Theſe new people chooſe the ſituation moſt convenient for their habitation, which is uſually of a ſquare figure. The church is placed in the centre; the coloniſts divide the land among themſelves, and each incloſes his property with a hedge. Some woods are reſerved for a common. It is thus that New England is conſtantly enlarging its territory, though it ſtill continues to make one complete and well-conſtituted province.

Though the colony be ſituated in the midſt of the temperate zone, yet the climate is not ſo mild as that of ſome European provinces, which are under the ſame parallel of latitude. The winters are longer and colder, the ſummers ſhorter and hotter. The ſky is commonly clear, and the rains more plentiful than laſting. The air has grown purer ſince its circulation has been made free by cutting down the woods; and malignant vapours, which at firſt carried off ſome of the inhabitants, are no longer complained of.

The country is divided into four provinces, which at firſt had no connection with one another. The neceſſity of maintaining an armed force againſt the ſavages, obliged them to form a confederacy in 1643, when they took the name of the United colonies. In conſequence of this league, two deputies from each eſtabliſhment uſed to meet in a ſtated place, to deliberate upon the common affairs of New England, according to the inſtructions they had received from the aſſembly by which they were ſent. This aſſociation was not in any manner repugnant to the right which each of its members had, to act in every reſpect as he choſe.

They were almoſt as much independent of the mother country. When the ſettlement was allowed to be made, it had been agreed that their code of laws ſhould not con-

tradict, in any reſpect, the legiſlation of the mother country; that the judging of any capital crime committed upon their territory, ſhould be reſerved for it; and that their whole trade ſhould be centered in its ports. None of theſe engagements were fulfilled; and other obligations, of leſs importance, were equally neglected. The ſpirit of republicaniſm had already acquired ſo great an influence, as to prevent theſe arrangements from being conſidered as binding. The coloniſts limited their ſubmiſſion to the acknowledging, in a vague manner, the king of England to be their ſovereign.

Maſſachuſet, the moſt flouriſhing of the four provinces, indulged itſelf in greater liberties than the others, and did it openly. This haughty behaviour drew the reſentment of Charles II upon them. In 1684 this monarch took away the charter which had been granted to them by his father. He eſtabliſhed an almoſt arbitrary government, and ventured to levy taxes for his own uſe. Deſpotiſm did not decreaſe under his ſucceſſor. Accordingly, on the firſt intelligence of his being dethroned, his deputy was arreſted, put in irons, and ſent back to Europe.

William III. though very well ſatisfied with this ardent zeal, did not reſtore to the Maſſachuſets their ancient privileges, according to their deſires, and, perhaps, to their wiſhes. It is true that he reſtored them a charter, but a charter which was in nothing reſembling the firſt.

By the new charter, the governor appointed by the court, was to be in poſſeſſion of the excluſive right of convening, proroguing, or diſſolving, the national aſſembly. It was he alone who could give a ſanction to the laws that were decreed, and to the taxes impoſed by the aſſembly. The nomination of every military employment belonged to this commandant. It was he, aſſiſted by the council, who appointed the magiſtrates. The other leſs important places could not be diſpoſed of without his conſent. The public treaſury was never opened but by his order, confirmed by the concurrence of the council. His authority was likewiſe extended to ſome other matters, which put a great reſtraint upon liberty. Connecticut and Rhode iſland, by a timely ſubmiſſion, prevented the puniſhment the province of Maſſachuſets bay had incurred, and retained their original charter. That of New Hampſhire had been always

regulated by the ſame mode of adminiſtration as the province of Maſſachuſets bay. The ſame governor preſided over the four provinces; but with regulations adapted to the conſtitution of each colony.

According to an account publiſhed by the general congreſs of the Engliſh American continent, there are four hundred thouſand inhabitants at Maſſachuſets bay; one hundred and ninety-two thouſand at Connecticut; one hundred and fifty thouſand at New Hampſhire; and fifty-nine thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-eight at Rhode iſland; which forms, in this ſettlement alone, a population of eight hundred and one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-eight ſouls.

This great multiplication of men ſhould ſeem to ariſe from an excellent ſoil; but this is not the caſe. All the countries, except ſome parts of Connecticut, were originally covered with pine trees; and, conſequently, are either entirely barren, or not very fertile. None of the European ſeeds thrive there; and their produce hath never been ſufficient for the nouriſhment of its inhabitants. They have always been obliged to live upon maize, or to draw part of their ſubſiſtence from elſewhere. Accordingly, though the country be generally very fit for the culture of fruit and of vegetables, and for the breeding of cattle, yet the country places are not the moſt intereſting part of thoſe regions. It is upon coaſts ſurrounded with rocks, but which are favourable to fiſhing, that the population hath augmented, activity hath increaſed, and eaſy circumſtances are become general.

This inſufficiency of the harveſts ought to have excited induſtry in New England ſooner, and more particularly, than in the reſt of the continent. Several ſhips were even conſtructed there for foreign navigators, the materials for which, at preſent ſo ſcarce and ſo expenſive, were, for a long time, common and cheap. The facility of procuring beaver ſkins, occaſioned the eſtabliſhing of a conſiderable hat manufactory. Cloths were alſo made of flax and hemp; and with the fleeces of their flocks, the colony fabricated ſtuffs, which are coarſe but ſtrong.

To theſe manufactures, which may be called national, another branch of induſtry was added, ſupported by foreign materials. Sugar yields a reſiduum, known by the name

of ſyrup, or molaſſes. The people of New England went to fetch it from the Weſt-Indies, and uſed it at firſt juſt as it was, for various purpoſes. At length the idea of diſtilling it ſuggeſted itſelf to them. They ſold a prodigious quantity of this rum to the neighbouring ſavages; to the men employed in the cod-fiſhery, and to all the northern provinces; they even carried it to the coaſt of Africa, where they diſpoſed of it with conſiderable advantage to the Engliſh employed in the purchaſe of ſlaves.

This branch of trade, and other circumſtances, enabled the inhabitants of New England to appropriate to themſelves part of the commodities, both of South and of North America. The exchanges between theſe two regions, which are ſo neceſſary to them both, paſſed through their hands; and they became, in ſome meaſure, brokers, as the Hollanders, of the New World.

The greateſt reſource of thoſe provinces, however, always was the fiſhery; which was very conſiderable, even upon their own coaſts. A prodigious quantity of boats is ſeen in every river, bay, or port, which are employed in catching ſalmon, ſturgeon, cod, and other kinds of fiſh, which are all ſold to advantage.

Mackerel is caught principally at the mouth of the Pentagouet, which empties itſelf in Fundy, or French, bay, at the extremity of the colony. In ſpring and in autumn, fourteen or fifteen hundred boats, and two thouſand five hundred men are employed in this fiſhery.

The cod fiſhery is ſtill more advantageous to New England. Its numerous ports ſend out annually five hundred veſſels, of fifty tons burthen, the crews of which amount to four thouſand men. They catch at leaſt two hundred and fifty thouſand quintals of cod.

Theſe colonies employ themſelves likewiſe in the whale fiſhery. Before the year 1763, New England carried on this fiſhery in the gulf of Florida, in March, April, and May; and to the eaſt of the great bank of Newfoundland, in June, July, and Auguſt. There were no more than one hundred and twenty ſloops, each of ſeventy tons burthen, and ſixteen hundred ſailors, ſent out for this purpoſe at that time. In 1767, this fiſhery employed ſeven thouſand two hundred and ninety ſailors. Let us inveſtigate the cauſes of this conſiderable increaſe.

Great Britain was for a long time agitated with the deſire of ſharing the whale fiſhery with the Dutch. In order to ſucceed in this, towards the latter end of the reign of Charles II, the inhabitants of that kingdom were diſcharged from paying any duty to the cuſtom-houſe, upon the produce ariſing from the fiſh which they ſhould obtain from the Northern ſea: but this indulgence was not extended to the colonies, who were obliged to pay a duty of 56 livres 5 ſols [2l. 6s. 10½d.] for every ton of oil and of whalebone, at their entrance into the mother country; this duty was only diminiſhed by one half, when theſe articles were imported on Engliſh bottoms.

To this tax, which was already too burthenſome, another was added in 1699, of 5 ſols 7 deniers [about 2¾d.] for every pound weight of whalebone; which bore equally upon America and upon Europe. This new tax produced ſuch fatal conſequences, that it was found neceſſary to ſuppreſs it in 1723; but it was only taken off for the whales caught in Greenland, in Davis's ſtraits, or in the adjoining ſeas. The fiſhery on the Northern continent ſtill remained ſubject to the new as well as the old duty.

The miniſtry, perceiving that the exemption of the duty was not ſufficient to excite the emulation of the Engliſh, had recourſe to encouragements. In 1732, a gratuity of 22 livres 10 ſols [18s. 9d.] was given; and ſixteen years after, another of 45 livres [1l. 17s. 6d.] for every ton conveyed by the ſhips employed in this important fiſhery. This generoſity of government produced part of the good effects which were expected from it. Great Britain, however, far from being able to vie with their rivals in foreign markets, was ſtill obliged to purchaſe annually to the value of three or four hundred thouſand livres [from 12,500l. to 16,666l. 13s. 4d.] of train oil and whalebone.

Such was the ſtate of things, when the ſeas of North America, which belonged to the French, became an Engliſh poſſeſſion at the laſt peace. Immediately the New Englanders went there in numbers to catch whales, which are very plenty. They were exonerated by parliament from the duties which oppreſſed them; and their induſtry became ſtill more active. It muſt naturally be communicated to the neighbouring colonies; and it

is probable that the United provinces will, in proceſs of time, be deprived of this important branch of their trade.

The whale fiſhery is carried on in the gulf of St. Lawrence, and in the adjacent latitudes, upon ſeas leſs tempeſtuous, and leſs embarraſſed with ice, than thoſe of Greenland. Accordingly, it begins ſooner, and ends later. Fewer fatal accidents happen there. The ſhips employed for the purpoſe are ſmaller, and have leſs numerous crews. Theſe reaſons muſt give to the American continent advantages, which the economy of the Dutch will never be able to balance. The Engliſh of Europe themſelves hoped to ſhare this ſuperiority with their coloniſts, becauſe they expected to add to the profits accruing from the fiſhery, that which they were to collect from the ſale of their cargoes; a reſource which was not allowed to the navigators who frequented Davis's ſtraits or the Greenland ſeas.

The vendible productions of New England are cod, train-oil, whales, tallow, cyder, ſalt meats, maize, hogs and oxen, pot-aſh, pulſe, maſts for merchantmen and men of war, and all kinds of woods. The Azore iſlands, Madeira, the Canaries, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Great Britain, and principally the Weſt-Indies, hitherto conſumed theſe articles. In 1769, the united exports of the four provinces amounted to 13,844,430 livres 19 ſols 5 deniers [about 576,851l. 5s. 9¼d.] But this colony received habitually more than it ſent out, ſince it was conſtantly indebted twenty-four or twenty-five millions of livres [from 1,000,000l. to 1,041,666l. 13s. 4d.] to the mother country.

Some ſhips are diſpatched from every one of the extremely numerous ports that are on theſe coaſts. The principal voyages, however, from Connecticut, are undertaken at Newhaven; thoſe to Rhode iſland, at Newport; thoſe to Hampſhire, at Portſmouth; and thoſe to Maſſachuſets bay, at Boſton.

This laſt city, which may be conſidered as the capital of New England, is ſituated on a peninſula, four miles in length, at the bottom of the fine bay of Maſſachuſet, which reaches about eight miles within land. The open-

ing of the bay is ſheltered from the impetuoſity of the waves by a number of rocks which riſe above the water, and by twelve ſmall iſlands, moſt of which are inhabited. Theſe dikes and natural ramparts will not allow more than three ſhips to come in together. At the end of the laſt century, a regular citadel, named Fort William, was erected in one of the iſlands upon this narrow channel. It is defended by a hundred pieces of cannon of the largeſt ſize, and very well placed. A league further on, is a very high light-houſe, the ſignals from which may be perceived and repeated by the fortreſs along the whole coaſt, at the ſame time that Boſton has her own light-houſes, which ſpread the alarm to all the inland country. Except when a very thick fog happens to prevail, which ſome ſhips might take advantage of to ſlip into the iſlands, the town has always five or ſix hours to prepare for the reception of an enemy, and to aſſemble ten thouſand militia, which can be collected in four-and-twenty hours. If a fleet ſhould ever be able to paſs the artillery of Fort William, it would infallibly be ſtopped by a couple of batteries, which being erected to the north and ſouth of the place, command the whole bay, and would give time for all the veſſels and commercial ſtores to be ſheltered from cannon ſhot in the river Charles.

The harbour of Boſton is ſo ſpacious, that ſix hundred veſſels may anchor in it ſafely and commodiouſly. There is a magnificent pier conſtructed, projecting ſufficiently into the ſea to allow the ſhips to unload their goods without the aſſiſtance of a lighter, and to depoſit them into the warehouſes which are ranged on the north ſide. At the extremity of the pier, the town appears built upon an uneven territory, in form of a creſcent round the harbour. Before the diſturbances it contained about thirty-five or forty thouſand inhabitants, of various ſects. The houſes, furniture, dreſs, food, converſation, cuſtoms, and manners, were ſo exactly ſimilar to the mode of living in London, that it was ſcarce poſſible to find any other difference, but that which ariſes from the greater numbers of people there are in large capitals.

The Dutch found the colony of New Belgia, afterwards called New York.

NEW ENGLAND, which reſembles the mother country in ſo many reſpects, is contiguous to New York. The latter, bounded on the eaſt by this principal colony, and on the weſt by New Jerſey, occupies at firſt a very narrow ſpace of twenty miles along the ſea-ſhore, and inſenſibly enlarging, extends to the north above a hundred and fifty miles up the country.

This country was diſcovered towards the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, by Henry Hudſon, a famous Engliſh navigator, at that time in the Dutch ſervice. He entered into a conſiderable river, to which he gave his name, and after ſlightly reconnoitering the coaſt, returned to Amſterdam, from whence he had ſailed. A ſecond voyage, undertaken by this adventurer, gave ſome better idea of this ſavage country.

According to the European ſyſtem, which never pays any attention to the people of the New World, this country ſhould have belonged to the United provinces. It was diſcovered by a man in their ſervice, who took poſſeſſion of it in their name, and gave up to them any perſonal right he might have in it. His being an Engliſhman did not in the leaſt invalidate theſe uncontrovertible titles. It muſt therefore have occaſioned great ſurpriſe, when James I aſſerted his pretenſions to it, upon the principle that Hudſon was born his ſubject; as if any man's country was not that in which he earns his ſubſiſtence; and indeed the king laid but a ſlight ſtreſs upon a pretenſion for which there was ſo little foundation.

The republic, who ſaw nothing in this property, which was no longer conteſted with them, except a ſettlement for the trade of the beaver and other peltries, ceded it to the Weſt-India company. This ſociety directed all its attention towards theſe ſavage riches; and in order to get as near them as poſſible, they cauſed Fort Orange, ſince called Albany, to be erected upon the borders of Hudſons river, at the diſtance of one hundred and fifty miles from the ſea. It was there that the furs were brought to their agents, who gave in exchange to the Iroquois, fire-arms and warlike ſtores, to enable them to reſiſt the French, who were lately arrived in Canada.

At that time New Belgia was nothing more than a factory. The city of Amſterdam became ſenſible that it would be a judicious thing to eſtabliſh a colony in that part of the New World, and eaſily obtained the ceſſion of it, by giving 700,000 livres [29,166l. 13s. 4d.] to the proprietors.

Theſe more extenſive views required other arrangements. The poſt placed in the neighbourhood of the Five nations was left ſtanding; but it appeared neceſſary to eſtabliſh a more conſiderable one at the mouth of the river, in the iſland of Manahatan; and accordingly, New Amſterdam was built there. Neither the town, its territories, nor the reſt of the province, were ever diſturbed by the neighbouring ſavages, ſome of whom were too weak to make any attempts, and the others were perpetually at war with the French. This poſſeſſion, therefore, was making a rapid progreſs, when it was viſited by an unexpected ſtorm.

At what period, and in what manner, the Engliſh make themſelves maſters of New Belgia.

ENGLAND, which had not at that time thoſe intimate connections with Holland, which the ambition and ſucceſſes of Lewis XIV have ſince given riſe to between the two powers, beheld, with a jealous eye a ſmall ſtate, but lately formed in its neighbourhood, extending its flouriſhing trade to all parts of the world. She was inwardly incenſed at the idea of not being able to attain to an equality with a power which ought not even to have entered into a competition with her. Theſe rivals in commerce, as in navigation, by their vigilance and economy, ruined her in all the great markets of the univerſe; and obliged her to act only a ſecondary part. Every effort ſhe made to eſtabliſh a competition ended either to her diſadvantage or diſcredit, while univerſal commerce was evidently concentrating itſelf in the moraſſes of the republic. At length the nation was rouſed by the diſgrace of their merchants, and reſolved to ſecure to them by force what they could not obtain by their induſtry. Charles II, notwithſtanding his averſion for buſineſs, and his immoderate love of pleaſure, eagerly adopted a plan which gave him a proſpect of acquiring the riches of thoſe diſtant regions, together with the maritime empire of Europe. His brother, more active and more inter-

priſing than himſelf, encouraged him in theſe diſpoſitions; and with one conſent, they ordered that the ſettlements and ſhips of the Dutch ſhould be attacked, without any previous declaration of war.

Hoſtilities begun in this manner are both cowardly and perfidious. They are the act of a horde of ſavages, and not of a civilized nation; of a dark aſſaſſin, and not of a warlike prince. No perſon who puts any confidence in his ſtrength, and who hath any elevation of ſoul, will ſurpriſe a ſleeping adverſary. If any one may be allowed to take advantage of my ſecurity, may I not alſo avail myſelf of his? Such conduct compels both parties to be inceſſantly in arms; the ſtate of war becomes permanent, and peace is no more than a word devoid of meaning. There is either a juſt reaſon for attacking an enemy, or there is none. If there be none, the party that begins the attack is nothing more than a dangerous robber, againſt whom all ought to unite, and whom they have a right to exterminate. If, on the contrary, there be a reaſon for commencing hoſtilities, it ought to be notified. Nothing can authoriſe the ſeizure of poſſeſſions, except the refuſal to repair an injury, or to reſtore any thing that is uſurped. Before you become the aggreſſor, let the world be convinced of the injuſtice that is done to you. The only thing that can be allowed, is to make ſecret preparations for revenge; to diſſemble your projects, if they cauſe any alarm; and to leave no interval between the refuſal of juſtice and the beginning of hoſtilities. If you ſhould be weaker than your adverſary, you muſt entreat and ſuffer with patience. Muſt you be a traitor, becauſe another perſon is an uſurper? Deſpiſe the common maxim; and do not ſupply either the ſtrength you may be deficient in, or the courage which might expoſe you, by treachery. Let the opinion of your contemporaries, and that of poſterity, be always preſent to your mind.

In the month of Auguſt 1664, an Engliſh ſquadron anchored on the coaſts of New Belgia, the capital of which ſurrendered upon the firſt ſummons, and the reſt of the colony made no greater reſiſtance. This conqueſt was inſured to the Engliſh by the treaty of Breda. But they were deprived of it again by the republic in 1673, when the intrigues of France had ſet theſe two maritime powers at

variance, which, for their mutual intereſts, ought ever to be united. A ſecond treaty again reſtored to the Engliſh, in the following year, a province which hath ſince remained attached to their dominion, but as the property of the king's brother, who gave his name to it.

The colony is ceded to the duke of York.

NEW YORK was governed by the deputies of this prince with ſufficient addreſs to prevent the indignation of the coloniſts from being excited againſt their perſons. The public hatred was fixed upon their maſter, who had kept all the power in his own hands. This political ſlavery equally diſguſted both the Dutch, who had preferred their plantations to their country, and the Engliſh who had joined them. The people, accuſtomed to liberty, became impatient under the yoke. Every thing ſeemed tending either to an inſurrection, or to an emigration. The commotion was put a ſtop to only in 1683, when the colony was invited to chooſe repreſentatives, who might regulate in aſſemblies what would be proper for its intereſts.

Colonel Duncan, who was intruſted with this buſineſs, was a man of a bold and extenſive mind. He did not confine himſelf, like thoſe who had hitherto governed the province, to the ceding of lands to every perſon who offered to clear them; he alſo extended his care to the Five nations, which had been too much neglected by his predeceſſors. The French were for ever endeavouring to diſunite theſe ſavages, in hopes of enſlaving them: and they had advanced this great undertaking by means of the converts made by their miſſionaries. It was the buſineſs of England to diſconcert this plan; but the duke of York, who had views of intereſt diſtinct from that of his country, was deſirous that his deputy ſhould favour the execution of it. Duncan, though a catholic, conſtantly deviated from the plan that was traced out for him, and exerted his utmoſt efforts to thwart a ſyſtem which appeared to him to be founded rather upon policy than religion. He even annoyed, by every poſſible meaſure, the nation that was the rival of his; and the memoirs of the times atteſt, that he greatly retarded their progreſs.

The conduct of this able chief was different in the interior part of the colony. He encouraged, both from in-

clination, and in obedience to orders, the eſtabliſhment of the families of his own, and of his prince's, religion. This protection was accompanied with a kind of myſtery; but as ſoon as James II had aſcended the throne, the collector of the public revenues, the principal officers, and a great number of citizens declared themſelves partiſans of the church of Rome.

This occaſioned a great ferment in the minds of the people. The proteſtant cauſe was thought to be in danger; and prudent men were apprehenſive of an inſurrection. Duncan ſucceeded in keeping the malcontents in order; but the revolution obliged him to make a voluntary reſignation of his poſt. He ſubmitted, like a good Engliſhman, to the new government; and by a haughtineſs of character peculiar to his nation, he ſent over to the dethroned monarch all the riches he had acquired in a long and proſperous adminiſtration.

This ſingular man had ſcarce quitted America, before the inhabitants of New England expelled their governor, Edmund Andrews, one of the moſt active promoters of the arbitrary views of King James. Some militia of New York, ſeduced by this example, endeavoured to treat Nicholſon, who was temporarily intruſted with the government, in the ſame manner; but he ſucceeded in forming a party in his favour, and the colony became the prey of two armed factions, till the arrival of Colonel Slaughter.

King William gives a government to this colony.

THIS commander, who was ſent by King William, convoked the members of the ſtate, on the 9th of April 1691. This aſſembly annulled every thing which had been previouſly decreed contrary to the Britiſh conſtitution, and enacted laws which have ever ſince been the rule of the colony. At this period the executive power was placed in the hands of the governor appointed by the crown, which gave him twelve counſellors, without whoſe concurrence he could not ſign any act. The commons were repreſented by thirty deputies, choſen by the inhabitants; and theſe ſeveral bodies conſtituted the general aſſembly, in which every power was veſted. The duration of this aſſembly, originally unlimited, was afterwards fixed at three years; and it now continues ſeven,

like the British parliament, the revolutions of which it hath followed.

It was time that an invariable order ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the colony. It was obliged to ſuſtain, againſt the French in Canada, a briſk and obſtinate war, which had been kindled by the dethroning of James II. Theſe hoſtilities, terminated by the treaty of Ryſwick, began again on account of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. The provinces adjacent to New York took ſome part in theſe diviſions; but it was this province which gave or ſuſtained the greateſt ſtrokes, which paid the troops, and which was drawn into the moſt conſiderable expences.

Unfortunately, the contributions of the citizens, which were ordered by the general aſſembly, were collected in a cheſt, that was entirely at the diſpoſal of the governor. It often happened, that rapacious or extravagant commanders converted to their own uſe the funds deſtined for the public ſervice. This became a perpetual ſource of diſſenſion. Queen Anne decreed, in 1705, that the ſame authority by which the taxes were impoſed, ſhould determine the uſe they were to be applied to, and might require an account to be given of the manner in which they had been employed.

Though the malverſations were ſtopped by this arrangement, yet the duties paid by the province were not adequate to the expences which the continuation of the war required. This embarraſſment occaſioned, for the firſt time, in 1709, the creation of bills of credit, which were afterwards much more multiplied than either the wants of the colony required, or than was conſiſtent with its advantage.

Burnet, a ſon of the famous biſhop of that name who had ſo much contributed to the placing of the houſe of Orange upon the throne, was appointed governor of the colony in 1720. But though he did not ſucceed in putting a ſtop to this diſorder, yet he formed another plan for the proſperity of the colony. The French inhabitants of Canada wanted, for the purpoſe of their exchange with the ſavages, ſeveral articles which were not furniſhed by their mother country: theſe they drew from New York. The general aſſembly of that province, by the advice of their governor, prohibited this communication. But as it

was not ſufficient to have embarraſſed the meaſures of an active rival, it was determined to ſupply their place.

A great part of the furs which were carried to Montreal paſſed over the weſtern ſhores of the lake Ontario. Burnet obtained the conſent of the Iroquois, in 1722, to build there the fort Oſwego, where theſe ſavage riches might be eaſily intercepted. As ſoon as this ſettlement was formed, the merchants of Albany ſent their merchandize to Chenectady, where they were embarked upon the Mohawks, which conveyed them to Oſwego. The navigation of this river is very difficult, and yet the Engliſh ſucceeded beyond their expectations. Theſe exchanges would even have been increaſed, had they not been thwarted by every kind of difficulty.

In 1726, the French conſtructed a fort at Niagara, where the furs, which, without this ſettlement, muſt have been carried to Oſwego, were detained. The Engliſh merchandize, which could no more be openly received, was fraudulently conveyed till the year 1729, a remarkable period in which the intereſts of individuals cauſed the law which forbade this commerce to be revoked. England too, at length, laid heavier taxes upon the fur trade than were paid by the French.

While theſe various impediments diminiſhed the connections which it was hoped would have been formed with the ſavages, the cultures were carried on with great ſpirit and ſucceſs throughout the whole extent of the province. They had languiſhed for ſome time indeed, in theſe countries, where James II had granted immenſe territories to ſome men too highly favoured; but theſe countries had at length been peopled as well as the others. Unfortunately, moſt of the inhabitants only occupied, as in Scotland, lands transferable at the will of the ground landlord; and ſtill more unfortunately, this dependence gave the great proprietors a very dangerous influence in the public deliberations.

This defect in the government was particularly fatal in the two deſtructive wars which the colony was obliged to ſuſtain againſt the French, in 1744 and in 1756. It experienced, during theſe misfortunes, calamities which it might at leaſt partly have avoided, if the efforts made to repulſe theſe enterpriſing men, and their ferocious allies,

had been concerted in time, and better planned. It was neceſſary that Canada ſhould become a Britiſh poſſeſſion at the peace of 1763, in order to enable New York to attend conſtantly, and without embarraſſment or anxiety, to the extention of its trade with the ſavages, and to the clearing of its plantations.

Soil, population, and commerce, of the colony.

This province, the limits of which were not ſettled till after the longeſt, the moſt violent, and the moſt obſtinate, conteſts, with New England, New Jerſey, and Pennſylvania, conſiſts at preſent of ten counties. It hath but a ſmall extent towards the ſea; but in depth its territory reaches as far as lake George or St. Sacrament, and as far as lake Ontario. Hudſons river iſſues from mountains ſituated between theſe two lakes. This can receive none but ſmall canoes for the ſpace of ſixty-five miles; and even that navigation is interrupted by two waterfalls, which oblige the perſons concerned in it to carry their cargoes twice over land the length of about two hundred toiſes each time. But from Albany to the ocean, that is to ſay, through a ſpace of one hundred and fifty miles, veſſels of forty or fifty tons burthen are ſeen conſtantly ſailing, day and night, with the tide, upon this magnificent canal, during all ſeaſons, without the leaſt riſk; and which keep up a continual and rapid circulation in the colony.

Long iſland, the part of this great ſettlement which the navigators firſt meet with, is ſeparated from the continent by a narrow channel. It is one hundred and twenty miles long, and twelve broad, and is divided into three counties. The ſavages who occupied this great ſpace, either removed from it, or periſhed ſucceſſively. Their oppreſſors owed their firſt proſperity to the whale and the ſeal fiſhery. When theſe fiſh, who delight in deſerted coaſts, diſappeared, the breeding of cattle, eſpecially of horſes, was attended to. Some cultures have ſince been eſtabliſhed upon this too ſandy ſoil.

The ground is more uneven upon the continent; but it becomes more even and more fertile in proportion as one approaches the lakes of Canada. If the marſhes which ſtill cover the extremity of this colony ſhould be ever dried up, and if the rivers by which it is watered, ſhould be ever

confined within their beds, this country will become the moſt fruitful of the colony.

According to the laſt accounts, the province contains two hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants, of various nations and of different ſects. The rich peltries which they obtain from the ſavages, and ſuch of their own productions as they do not conſume, are conveyed to the general mart. This is a city of importance, at preſent known, as well as the reſt of the colony, by the name of New York. It was formerly built by the Dutch, in the iſland of Manahatton, which is fourteen miles long, and one mile is its greateſt breadth.

Trade hath collected in this city, the climate of which is very wholeſome, eighteen or twenty thouſand inhabitants, upon an extent of ground which is partly low and partly raiſed. The ſtreets are very irregular, but exceedingly neat. The houſes, built with brick, and covered with tiles, are more convenient than elegant. The proviſions are abundant, of excellent quality, and cheap. Eaſy circumſtances prevail univerſally. The loweſt claſs of people have a certain reſource in oyſters, the fiſhery of which alone employs two hundred boats.

The town, ſituated two miles from the mouth of Hudſons river, hath properly ſpeaking, neither harbour nor baſon, but doth not ſtand in need of either. Its port, which is open in all ſeaſons, is acceſſible to ſhips of the largeſt ſizes, and being ſheltered from all ſtorms, is ſufficient for it. From hence the numerous ſhips come forth, which are diſpatched to different latitudes. The proviſions or merchandize which were exported in 1769, amounted to 4,352,446 livres 7 ſols 9 deniers [about 181,351l. 18s. 8d.] Since this period, the productions of the colony have increaſed viſibly; and this increaſe muſt be carried ſtill further, ſince no more than one half of the lands are cleared, and ſince thoſe grounds which are ſo are not ſo well cultivated as they will be when the population ſhall become more conſiderable.

Ancient and modern manners of New York.

The Dutch, who were the firſt founders of the colony, eſtabliſhed in it that ſpirit of order and economy which is the univerſal characteriſtic of their nation.

As they always conſtituted the majority of the people, even after theſe had changed maſters, thoſe whom conqueſt had aſſociated to them generally adopted their manners. The Germans, compelled to take refuge in America by the religious perſecution which drove them out of the Palatinate, or the other provinces of the empire, were naturally inclined to this modeſt behaviour; and the Engliſh and French, who were not accuſtomed to ſo much frugality, ſoon conformed, either from motives of wiſdom or emulation, to a mode of living leſs expenſive and more familiar than that which is regulated by faſhion and parade. From thence it followed, that the coloniſts did not contract any debts with the mother country; that they preſerved an entire liberty in their ſales and purchaſes, and have been enabled always to give the moſt advantageous turn to their affairs.

Such was the ſtate of the colony till 1763. At this period New York became the general abode of the principal officers and of part of the troops which Great Britain thought neceſſary to maintain in North America, either to keep it in awe, or to defend it. This multitude of unemployed or unmarried men, who were conſtantly endeavouring to deceive their own idleneſs, and to ſtrive againſt the wearineſs of life, diſperſed themſelves among the citizens, to whom they inſpired a taſte for the luxuries of the table, and a turn for play. By their aſſiduity with the women, their converſation and their manners, they engaged them in thoſe frivolous purſuits, thoſe gallantries, and thoſe amuſements, which had ſo much allurement for them. The two ſexes ſoon led the ſame kind of life. They roſe with the ſame projects, and went to bed with the ſame extravagant ideas. This pernicious ſpirit communicated itſelf from one to another, and it ſtill continues, unleſs the terrible ſcenes which have ſince ſtained theſe countries with blood have brought about a happy revolution in the manners.

Revolutions which have happened in New Jerſey.

New Jersey is ſituated in the neighbourhood of New York, and was known at firſt by the name of New Sweden. It was called thus by ſome adventurers of that nation, who landed upon theſe ſa-

vage coaſts towards the year 1638. They formed three ſettlements there, Chriſtiana, Elzimburg, and Gottenburg. This colony was of no importance when it was attacked and conquered by the Dutch. Thoſe of the inhabitants who had a greater regard for their mother country than for their plantations returned into Europe. The others ſubmitted to the laws of the conqueror, and their territory was united to New Belgia. When the duke of York received the inveſtiture of the province to which he gave his name, he ſeparated what had been added, and divided it between two of his favourites, under the name of New Jerſey.

Carteret and Berkley, the firſt of whom received the eaſtern, and the other the weſtern, part of the province, ſolicited this vaſt territory with no other view but to put it up to ſale. Several ſpeculative perſons purchaſed from them large diſtricts at a low price, which they ſold again in ſmaller parcels. In the midſt of theſe ſubdiviſions, the colony remained divided into two diſtinct provinces, each ſeparately governed by the heirs of their original proprietors. The difficulties which they experienced in their adminiſtration diſguſted them of this kind of ſovereignty, which indeed was ill adapted to the condition of a ſubject. They gave up their charter to the crown in 1702; and from that time the two provinces became one, and like the greater part of the other Engliſh colonies, were under the direction of a governor, a council, and the deputies of the commons.

This large country, before the revolution, contained only ſixteen thouſand inhabitants, the deſcendants of Swedes and Dutch, who were its firſt cultivators; ſome quakers, and ſome church of England men, with a great number of Scotch preſbyterians, had joined the coloniſts of the two nations. The defects of government ſtopped the progreſs, and occaſioned the indigence, of this ſmall colony. It might therefore have been expected, that the era of liberty ſhould have been that of the proſperity of the colony; but almoſt all the Europeans who went to the New World, in ſearch either of an aſylum or riches, preferred Pennſylvania or Carolina, which had acquired a greater ſhare of celebrity. At length, however, New Jerſey hath been peopled; and

it reckons at preſent one hundred and thirty thouſand inhabitants.

State of New Jerſey.

THE colony is covered with flocks and with grain in abundance. Hemp thrives better there than in any of the neighbouring countries. An excellent copper mine hath been worked with ſucceſs in it. Its coaſts are acceſſible, and the port of Amboix, its capital, is tolerably good. It is in want of none of the means of proſperity proper for that part of the globe, and yet it hath always remained in a profound obſcurity. Its name is ſcarcely known in the Old World, and not much more in the New. But perhaps, it is not on this account the more unfortunate.

If we read over the hiſtory of nations both ancient and modern, it will be found, that there is ſcarce any one of them, the ſplendour of which hath not been acquired but at the expence of its felicity. People of whom no mention ſhall have been made in the melancholy annals of the world muſt neither have been aggreſſors, nor expoſed to attacks; they muſt not have interrupted the tranquillity of others, nor muſt theirs have been diſturbed by diſtant or neighbouring enemies. They muſt not have had heroes who had returned to their country laden with the ſpoils of the enemy. They muſt have had no hiſtorian to relate either their miſeries or their crimes. There mankind would never have ſhuddered from one age to another, at the ſight of thoſe monuments which call to mind, in all parts, the effuſion of blood, and the ſhackles of ſlavery impoſed at a diſtance, or broken at home. They muſt not have been torn to pieces by political factions, nor intoxicated by abſurd opinions. The oppreſſion of tyranny muſt never have drawn tears from their eyes, nor excited them to revolt. They muſt never have delivered themſelves from a deſpot by aſſaſſination, nor muſt they ever have exterminated his ſatellites; for ſuch are the events which at all times have given a celebrity to nations. On the contrary, in the midſt of a long and profound tranquillity, the fields would have been cultivated, ſome traditional hymns would have been ſung in honour of the Deity, and the ſame love ſongs would have been handed down from one generation to the other. Wherefore muſt this alluring picture of hap-

pineſs be chimerical? Becauſe it hath never exiſted; and if it ſhould exiſt, it could not poſſibly be for a long time in the midſt of turbulent and ambitious nations. Whatever may be the reaſon of the obſcurity of New Jerſey, it is our duty to give them our advice upon their preſent and future ſituation.

The poverty of this province not ſuffering it at firſt to open a direct trade with the diſtant or foreign markets, it was obliged to ſell its productions at Philadelphia, and more commonly at New York; it obtained from theſe cities, in exchange, ſome merchandize of the mother country, and a few of the productions of the iſlands. Their richeſt merchants even advanced money to the province, which kept it ſtill more in a ſtate of dependence. Notwithſtanding the increaſe of its cultures and of its productions, it hath not yet ſhaken off this kind of ſervitude. We have now before us, accounts of inconteſtible authority, which prove, that in 1762 New Jerſey did not ſend any ſhips to Europe; and that it ſent only twenty-four boats to the Weſt-Indies, the value of whoſe cargoes did not amount to more than 56,965 livres 19 ſols 9 deniers [about 2,373l. 11s. 8d.] All the reſt of its territorial riches were delivered to the neighbouring colonies who traded with them.

This ſituation is both ruinous and degrading. New Jerſey muſt itſelf conſtruct ſhips, all the materials for which nature hath given it. It muſt ſend them out into divers ſeas, ſince it is no longer in want of men. It muſt convey its productions to the people, who have hitherto only received them through the means of intermediatory agents. It muſt provide itſelf with the produce of foreign induſtry at firſt hand, for which it hath hitherto paid too dear, on account of the uſeleſs circuits it hath gone through. It may then form vaſt projects, devote itſelf to great enterpriſes, be raiſed to that rank to which its advantages ſeem to call it, and be more upon a level with the provinces which have too long deſtroyed it by their ſhadow, or eclipſed it with their ſplendour.

May the views which I offer, and the counſels I addreſs to New Jerſey, be realized! May I live long enough to be a witneſs of them, and to rejoice at them. The happineſs of my fellow creatures, at whatever diſtance they

may exiſt from me, hath never been indifferent to me: but I have felt myſelf moved with warm concern, in favour of thoſe whom ſuperſtition or tyranny have expelled from their native country. I have commiſerated their ſufferings. When they have embarked, I have turned my eyes up towards Heaven. My voice hath been joined to the noiſe of the winds and the waves which were carrying them beyond the ſeas; and I have repeatedly exclaimed, let them proſper! Let them find in the deſert and ſavage region which they are going to inhabit, a felicity equal, or even ſuperior, to ours; and if they ſhould found an empire there, let them think of preſerving themſelves and their poſterity from the calamities which they have felt.

BOOK XVIII.

ENGLISH COLONIES FOUNDED IN PENNSYLVANIA, MARYLAND, VIRGINIA, CAROLINA, GEORGIA, AND FLORIDA. GENERAL REFLECTIONS ON ALL THESE SETTLEMENTS.

Parallel between a bad and a good government.

NO ſociety was ever founded on injuſtice. A people formed by a compact ſo extraordinary, would have been, at the ſame time, both the moſt degraded and the moſt unfortunate of people. Declared enemies of the human race, they would equally have been intitled to compaſſion from the ſentiments they would have inſpired, and thoſe they would have experienced. Feared and hated by all ſurrounding powers, they would have inceſſantly been agitated by the ſame paſſions. Their misfortunes would have excited univerſal joy, and their proſperity general affliction. The nations would one day have united to exterminate them; but time would have rendered this league uſeleſs. It would have been ſufficient

for their annihilation, and for the avenging of other nations, that each of their members ſhould have modelled his conduct upon the maxims of the ſtate. Animated with the ſpirit of their inſtitution, they would all have been eager to raiſe themſelves upon the ruin of each other. No meaſure would have appeared too odious for this purpoſe. This would have been realizing the fable of the race engendered from the teeth of the dragon, which Cadmus ſowed upon the earth, and which was deſtroyed as ſoon as created.

How different would be the deſtiny of an empire founded on virtue! Agriculture, the arts, the ſciences, and commerce, improved under the protection of peace, would have expelled idleneſs, ignorance, and miſery. The chief of the ſtate would have received the different ranks of men in the ſtate, and would have been adored. He would have underſtood that not one of the ſociety could ſuffer, without ſome injury to the whole body, and therefore he would have attended to the happineſs of all. Impartial equity would inſure the obſervation of the treaties which it had dictated, the ſtability of laws, which it had ſimplified, and the diſtribution of taxes, which it would have proportioned to the public expences. All the neighbouring powers, intereſted in the preſervation of this people, would arm in their defence, upon the leaſt danger which ſhould threaten them. But in default of foreign ſuccours, they might themſelves oppoſe, to the unjuſt aggreſſor, the impenetrable barrier of a rich and numerous people, for whom the word country would not merely be a nominal idea. This is what may be called imaginary excellence in politics.

Theſe two ſorts of government are equally unknown in the annals of the world; which preſent us with nothing but imperfect ſketches, more or leſs reſembling the atrocious ſublimity, or more or leſs diſtant from the affecting beauty, of one or the other of theſe great portraits. The nations which have made the moſt ſplendid figure on the theatre of the world, actuated by deſtructive ambition, have diſplayed a greater reſemblance to the former. Others, more wiſe in their conſtitution, more ſimple in their manners, more limited in their views, and enveloped, if we may uſe the expreſſion, with a kind of ſecret hap-

pineſs, ſeemed to be more conformable to the ſecond. Among the latter Pennſylvania may be reckoned.

The quakers found Pennſylvania.

LUTHERANISM, which was deſtined to cauſe a remarkable change in Europe, either by its own influence, or by the example it gave, had occaſioned a great ferment in the minds of all men, when there aroſe, in the midſt of the commotions it excited, a new religion, which at firſt appeared much more like a rebellion guided by fanaticiſm, than like a ſect that was governed by any fixed principle. The generality of innovators in religion follow a regular ſyſtem, compoſed of doctrines connected with each other, and contend at firſt only to defend them, till perſecution irritates and ſtimulates them to rebellion, ſo that at length they have recourſe to arms. The anabaptiſts, on the contrary, as if they had only looked into the Bible for the word of command to attack, lifted up the ſtandard of rebellion, before they had agreed upon a ſyſtem of doctrine. It is true, indeed, their leaders had taught, that it was a ridiculous and uſeleſs practice to adminiſter baptiſm to infants, and aſſerted that their opinion upon this point was the ſame as that of the primitive church; but they had not yet ever reduced to practice this article of belief, which was the only one that furniſhed a pretence for their ſeparation. The ſpirit of ſedition prevented them from paying a proper attention to the ſchiſmatic tenets on which their diviſion was founded. To ſhake off the tyrannical yoke of church and ſtate, was their law and their faith. To inliſt in the armies of the Lord, to join with the faithful, who were to wield the ſword of Gideon; this was their device, their motive, and their ſignal, for rallying.

It was not till after they had carried fire and ſword into a great part of Germany, that the anabaptiſts thought of giving ſome baſis and ſome connection to their creed, and of marking and cementing their confederacy by ſome viſible ſign of union. Having been united at firſt by inſpiration to raiſe a body of troops, in 1525 they were united to compoſe a religious code.

In this mixed ſyſtem of intoleration and mildneſs, the anabaptiſt church, being the only one in which the pure

word of God is taught, neither can nor ought to communicate with any other.

The ſpirit of the Lord blowing whereſoever it liſteth, the power of preaching is not limited to one order of the faithful, but is diſpenſed to all. Every one likewiſe has the gift of prophecy.

Every ſect which hath not preſerved a community of all things which conſtituted the life and ſpirit of primitive chriſtianity, has degenerated, and is for that reaſon an impure ſociety.

Magiſtrates are uſeleſs in a ſociety of the truly faithful. A chriſtian never has occaſion for any; nor is a chriſtian allowed to be one himſelf.

Chriſtians are not permitted to take up arms even in their own defence, much leſs is it lawful for them to inliſt as ſoldiers in mercenary armies.

Both law-ſuits and oaths are forbidden the diſciples of Chriſt, who has commanded them to let their yea, be yea, and their nay, nay.

The baptiſm of infants is an invention of the devil and the pope. The validity of baptiſm depends upon the voluntary conſent of adults, who alone are able to receive it with a conſciouſneſs of the engagement they take upon themſelves.

Such was in its origin the religious ſyſtem of the anabaptiſts. Though it appears founded on charity and mildneſs, yet it produced nothing but violence and iniquity. The chimerical idea of an equality of ſtations, is the moſt dangerous one that can be adopted in a civilized ſociety. To preach this ſyſtem to the people, is not to put them in mind of their rights, it is leading them on to aſſaſſination and plunder; it is letting domeſtic animals looſe, and tranſforming them into wild beaſts. The rulers of the people muſt be more enlightened, or the laws by which they are governed muſt be ſoftened; but there is in fact no ſuch thing in nature as a real equality; it exiſts only in the ſyſtem of equity. Even the ſavages themſelves are not equal when once they are collected into hordes. They are only ſo while they wander in the woods; and even then the man who ſuffers the produce of his chaſe to be taken from him, is not the equal of him who deprives him of it. Such has been the origin of all ſocieties.

A doctrine, the baſis of which was the community of goods and equality of ranks, was hardly calculated to find partizans anywhere but among the poor. The peaſants therefore adopted it with the greater enthuſiaſm, in proportion as the yoke from which it delivered them was more inſupportable. The far greater part, eſpecially thoſe who were condemned to ſlavery, roſe up in arms on all ſides, to ſupport a doctrine, which, from being vaſſals, made them equal to their lords. The apprehenſion of ſeeing one of the firſt bands of ſociety, obedience to the magiſtrate, broken, united all other ſects againſt them, who could not ſubſiſt without ſubordination. After having carried on a more obſtinate reſiſtance than could have been expected, they yielded at length to the number of their enemies. Their ſect, notwithſtanding it had made its way all over Germany, and into a part of the north, was nowhere prevalent, becauſe it had been everywhere oppoſed and diſperſed. It was but juſt tolerated in thoſe countries, in which the greateſt latitude of opinion was allowed; and there was not any ſtate in which it was able to ſettle a church, authoriſed by the civil power. This of courſe weakened it, and from obſcurity it fell into contempt. Its only glory is that of having, perhaps, contributed to the foundation of the ſect of quakers.

Origin and character of the quakers.

THIS humane and peaceable ſect aroſe in England, amidſt the confuſions of that bloody war, which terminated in a monarch's being dragged to the ſcaffold by his own ſubjects. The founder of it, George Fox, was of the lower claſs of the people; a man who had been formerly a mechanic, but whom a ſingular and contemplative turn of mind had induced to quit his employment. In order to wean himſelf entirely from all earthly affections, he broke off all connections with his own family; and for fear of being tempted to renew them, he determined to have no fixed abode. He often wandered alone in the woods, without any other amuſement but his Bible. In time he even learned to go without that, when he thought he had acquired from it a degree of inſpiration ſimilar to that of the apoſtles and the prophets.

He then began to think of making proſelytes, in which he found no difficulty in a country where the minds of all men were filled and diſturbed with enthuſiaſtic notions. He was, therefore, ſoon followed by a multitude of diſciples, the novelty and ſingularity of whoſe opinions, upon incomprehenſible ſubjects, could not fail of attracting and faſcinating all thoſe who were fond of the marvellous.

The firſt thing by which they caught the eye, was the ſimplicity of their dreſs, in which there was no gold or ſilver lace, no embroidery, laces, or ruffles, and from which they affected to baniſh every thing that was ſuperfluous or unneceſſary. They would not ſuffer either a button in the hat or a plait in the coat, becauſe it was poſſible to do without them. Such an extraordinary contempt for eſtabliſhed modes reminded thoſe who adopted it, that it became them to be more virtuous than the reſt of men, from whom they diſtinguiſhed themſelves by this external modeſty.

All outward marks of deference, which the pride and tyranny of mankind exact from thoſe who are unable to refuſe them, were diſdained by the quakers, who diſclaimed the names of maſter and ſervant. They condemned all titles, as being tokens of pride in thoſe who claimed them, and of meanneſs in thoſe who beſtowed them. They did not allow to any perſon whatever the appellation of eminence or excellence, and ſo far they might be in the right; but they refuſed to comply with thoſe reciprocal demonſtrations of reſpect which we call politeneſs, and in this they were to blame. The name of friend, they ſaid, was not to be refuſed by one chriſtian or citizen to another, but the ceremony of bowing they conſidered as ridiculous and troubleſome. To pull off the hat they held to be a want of reſpect to a man's ſelf, in order to ſhew it to others. They carried this idea ſo far, that even the magiſtrates could not compel them to any external mark of reverence; but they addreſſed both them and princes, according to the ancient majeſty of language, in the ſecond perſon and in the ſingular number; and they juſtified this licence by the cuſtom of thoſe very perſons who were offended at it, and who uſed to addreſs their ſaints and their God in the ſame manner.

The auſterity of their morals ennobled the ſingularity of their manners. The uſe of arms, conſidered in every light, appeared a crime to them. If it were to attack, it was violating the laws of humanity; if to defend one's ſelf, it was breaking through thoſe of chriſtianity. Univerſal peace was the goſpel they had agreed to profeſs. If any one ſmote a quaker upon one cheek, he immediately preſented the other; if any one aſked him for his coat, he offered his waiſtcoat too. Nothing could engage theſe equitable men to demand more than the lawful price for their work, or to take leſs than what they demanded. An oath, even before a magiſtrate, and in ſupport of a juſt cauſe, they deemed to be a profanation of the name of God, in any of the wretched diſputes that ariſe between weak and periſhable beings.

The contempt they entertained for the outward forms of politeneſs in civil life, was changed into averſion for the ritual and ceremonial parts of religion. They looked upon churches merely as the oſtentatious edifices of prieſtcraft; they conſidered the Sabbath as a pernicious and idle inſtitution, and baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper as ridiculous ſymbols. For this reaſon they rejected all regular orders of clergy. Every one of the faithful they imagined received an immediate illumination from the Holy Ghoſt, which gave a character far ſuperior to that of the prieſthood. When they were aſſembled together, the firſt perſon who found himſelf inſpired, aroſe, and imparted the lights he had received from heaven. Even women were often favoured with this gift of ſpeech, which they called the gift of prophecy; ſometimes many of theſe holy brethren ſpoke at the ſame time; but much more frequently a profound ſilence prevailed in their aſſemblies.

The enthuſiaſm occaſioned both by their meditations and diſcourſes, excited ſuch a degree of ſenſibility in the nervous ſyſtem, that it threw them into convulſions, for which reaſon they were called quakers. To have cured theſe people in proceſs of time of their folly, nothing more was requiſite than to turn it into ridicule; but inſtead of this, perſecution contributed to make it more general. While every other new ſect met with encouragement, this was expoſed to every kind of puniſhment; impriſonments,

whippings, pillories, mad houſes, were none of them thought too terrible for bigots, whoſe only crime was that of wanting to be virtuous and reaſonable over much. The conſtancy with which they bore their ſufferings, at firſt excited compaſſion, and afterwards admiration, for them. Even Cromwell, who had been one of their moſt violent enemies, becauſe they uſed to inſinuate themſelves into his camps, and diſſuade his ſoldiers from their profeſſion, gave them public marks of his eſteem. His policy exerted itſelf in endeavouring to draw them into his party, in order to conciliate to himſelf a higher degree of reſpect and conſideration; but they either eluded his invitations, or rejected them; and he afterwards confeſſed, that this was the only religion which was not to be influenced by bribery.

Foundation of Pennſylvania by Penn.

AMONG the ſeveral perſons who caſt a temporary luſtre on the ſect, the only one who deſerves to be remembered by poſterity, is William Penn. He was the ſon of an admiral, who had been fortunate enough to be equally diſtinguiſhed by Cromwell, and the two Stuarts, who held the reins of government after him. This able ſeaman, more ſupple and more inſinuating than men of his profeſſion uſually are, had made ſeveral conſiderable advances to government in the different expeditions in which he had been engaged. The misfortunes of the times had not admitted of the repayment of theſe loans during his life, and as affairs were not in a better ſituation at his death, it was propoſed to his ſon, that inſtead of money, he ſhould accept of an immenſe territory in America. It was a country, which, though long ſince diſcovered and ſurrounded by Engliſh colonies, had always been neglected. A ſpirit of benevolence made him accept with pleaſure this kind of patrimony, which was ceded to him almoſt as a ſovereignty, and he determined to make it the abode of virtue, and the aſylum of the unfortunate. With this generous deſign, towards the end of the year 1681, he ſet ſail for his new poſſeſſions, which from that time took the name of Pennſylvania. All the quakers were deſirous to follow him, in order to avoid the perſecution raiſed againſt them by the clergy, on account of their not complying

with the tithes and other eccleſiaſtical fees; but from prudential motives he declined taking over any more than two thouſand.

His arrival in the New World was ſignalized by an act of equity, which made his perſon and principles equally beloved. Not thoroughly ſatisfied with the right given him to his extenſive territory, by the grant he had received of it from the Britiſh miniſtry, he determined to make it his own property by purchaſing it of the natives. The price he gave to the ſavages is not known; but though ſome people accuſe them of ſtupidity for conſenting to part with what they never ought to have alienated upon any terms; yet Penn is not leſs intitled to the glory of having given an example of moderation and juſtice in America, which was never thought of before by the Europeans. He rendered himſelf as much as poſſible a legal poſſeſſor of the territory, and by the uſe he made of it ſupplied any deficiency there might be in the validity of his title. The Americans entertained as great an affection for his colony, as they had conceived an averſion for all thoſe which had been founded in their neighbourhood without their conſent. From that time there aroſe a mutual confidence between the two people, founded upon good faith, which nothing has ever been able to ſhake.

Penn's humanity could not be confined to the ſavages only; it extended itſelf to all thoſe who were deſirous of living under his laws. Senſible that the happineſs of the people depended upon the nature of the legiſlation, he founded his upon thoſe two firſt principles of public ſplendour and private felicity, liberty, and property. If it were allowed to borrow the language of fable, with reſpect to an account that ſeems to be fabulous, we ſhould ſay, that Aſtræa, who had been gone up into heaven for ſo long a time, was now come down upon earth again, and that the reign of innocence and concord was going to be revived among mankind. The mind of the writer and of his reader dwells with pleaſure on this part of modern hiſtory, and feels ſome kind of compenſation for the diſguſt, horror, or melancholy, which the whole of it, but particularly the account of the European ſettlements in America, inſpires. Hitherto we have only ſeen theſe barbarians de-

populating the country before they took poſſeſſion of it, and laying every thing waſte before they cultivated it. It is time to obſerve the dawnings of reaſon, happineſs, and humanity, riſing from among the ruins of a hemiſphere, which ſtill reeks with the blood of all its people, civiliſed as well as ſavage.

The virtuous legiſlator made toleration the baſis of his ſociety. He admitted every man who acknowledged a God to the rights of a citizen, and made every chriſtian eligible to ſtate employments. But he left every one at liberty to invoke the Supreme Being as he thought proper, and neither eſtabliſhed a reigning church in Pennſylvania, nor exacted contributions for building places of public worſhip, nor compelled any perſons to attend them.

Penn, attached to his name, was deſirous that the property of the ſettlement which he had formed ſhould remain in perpetuity to his family; but he deprived them of any deciſive influence in the public reſolutions, and ordained, that they ſhould not exerciſe any act of authority without the concurrence of the deputies of the people. All the citizens who had an intereſt in the law, by having one in the object of it, were to be electors, and might be choſen. To avoid as much as poſſible every kind of corruption, it was ordained that the repreſentatives ſhould be choſen by ſuffrages privately given. To eſtabliſh a law, a plurality of voices was ſufficient; but a majority of two thirds was neceſſary to ſettle a tax. Such a tax as this was certainly more like a free gift than a ſubſidy demanded by government; but was it poſſible to grant leſs indulgences to men who were come ſo far in ſearch of peace?

Such was the opinion of that real philoſopher Penn. He gave a thouſand acres to all thoſe who could afford to pay 450 livres [18l. 15s.] for them. Every one who could not, obtained for himſelf, his wife, each of his children above ſixteen years old, and each of his ſervants, fifty acres of land, for the annual quit-rent of one ſol ten deniers and a half [about one penny] per acre. Fifty acres were alſo given to every citizen who, when he was of age, conſented to pay an annual tribute of two livres five ſols [1s. 10½d.]

To fix theſe properties for ever, he eſtabliſhed tribunals to maintain the laws made for the preſervation of property.

But it is not protecting the property of lands to make thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of them purchaſe the decree of juſtice that ſecures them: for in that caſe every individual is obliged to part with ſome of his property, in order to ſecure the reſt; and law, when protracted, exhauſts the very treaſures it ſhould preſerve and the property it ſhould defend. Leſt any perſons ſhould be found whoſe intereſt it might be to encourage or prolong law-ſuits, he forbade, under very ſtrict penalties, all thoſe who were engaged in the adminiſtration of juſtice to receive any ſalary or gratuity whatſoever. And further, every diſtrict was obliged to chooſe three arbitrators, whoſe buſineſs it was to endeavour to prevent, and accommodate, any diſputes that might happen, before they were carried into a court of juſtice.

This attention to prevent law-ſuits ſprang from the deſire of preventing crimes. All the laws, that they might have no vices to puniſh, were calculated to put a ſtop to them even in their very ſources, poverty and idleneſs. It was enacted that every child above twelve years old, ſhould be obliged to learn a profeſſion, let his condition be what it would. This regulation, at the ſame time that it ſecured the poor man a ſubſiſtence, furniſhed the rich man with a reſource againſt every reverſe of fortune, preſerved the natural equality of mankind, by recalling to every man's remembrance his original deſtination, which is that of labour, either of the mind or of the body.

Virtue had never perhaps inſpired a legiſlation better calculated to promote the felicity of mankind. The opinions, the ſentiments, and the morals, corrected whatever might be defective in it, and remedied any part of it that might be imperfect. Accordingly, the proſperity of Pennſylvania was very rapid. This republic, without either wars, conqueſts, ſtruggles, or any of thoſe revolutions which attract the eyes of the vulgar, ſoon excited the admiration of the whole univerſe. Its neighbours, notwithſtanding their ſavage ſtate, were ſoftened by the ſweetneſs of its manners; and diſtant nations, notwithſtanding their corruption, paid homage to its virtues. All were delighted to ſee thoſe heroic days of antiquity realized, which Eu-

ropean manners and laws had long taught every one to conſider as entirely fabulous.

Proſperity of Pennſylvania.

PENNSYLVANIA is defended on the eaſt by the ocean, on the north by New York and New Jerſey, on the ſouth by Virginia and Maryland, on the weſt by the Indians; on all ſides by friends, and within itſelf by the virtue of its inhabitants. Its coaſts, which are at firſt very narrow, extend gradually to 120 miles, and the breadth of it, which has no other limits than its population and culture, already comprehends 145 miles.

Pennſylvania Proper is divided into eleven counties; Philadelphia, Bucks, Cheſter, Lancaſter, York, Cumberland, Berks, Northampton, Bedford, Northumberland, and Weſtmoreland.

In the ſame region, the counties of Newcaſtle, Kent, and Suſſex, form a diſtinct government, but are regulated on the ſame principles.

The ſky of the colony is pure and ſerene, and the climate, naturally very wholeſome, has been rendered ſtill more ſo by cultivation; the waters, equally ſalubrious and clear, always flow upon a bed of rock or ſand; and the year is tempered by the regular return of the ſeaſons. Winter, which begins in the month of January, laſts till the end of March. As it is ſeldom accompanied with clouds or fogs, the cold is, generally ſpeaking, moderate; ſometimes, however, ſharp enough to freeze the largeſt rivers in a night's time. This change, which is as ſhort as it is ſudden, is occaſioned by the north-weſt winds, which blow from the mountains and lakes of Canada. The ſpring is uſhered in by ſoft rains, and a gentle heat, which increaſes gradually till the end of June. The heats of the dog-days would be inſupportable, were it not for the refreſhing breezes of the ſouth-weſt wind, which afford almoſt a conſtant relief.

Though the country be unequal, it is not on that account leſs fertile. The ſoil in ſome places conſiſts of a yellow and black ſand, in others it is gravelly, and ſometimes it is a greyiſh aſh-colour upon a ſtony bottom; generally ſpeaking, it is a rich earth, particularly between the rivulets, which, interſecting it in all directions, contri-

bute more to the fertility of the country than navigable rivers would.

When the Europeans firſt came into the country, they found nothing but wood for building, and iron mines. In proceſs of time, by cutting down the trees, and clearing the ground, they covered it with innumerable herds, a great variety of fruits, plantations of flax and hemp, many kinds of vegetables, every ſort of grain, and eſpecially wheat and maize, which a happy experience had ſhewn to be particularly proper to the climate. Cultivation was carried on in all parts with ſuch vigour and ſucceſs as excited the aſtoniſhment of all nations.

From whence could ariſe this extraordinary proſperity? From that civil and religious liberty which has attracted the Swedes, Dutch, French, and particularly ſome laborious Germans, into that country. It has been the joint work of quakers, anabaptiſts, members of the church of England, methodiſts, preſbyterians, moravians, lutherans, and catholics.

Among the numerous ſects which abound in this country, a very diſtinguiſhed one is that of the dumplers. It was founded by a German, who, weary of the world, retired to an agreeable ſolitude within fifty miles of Philadelphia, in order to be more at liberty to give himſelf up to contemplation. Curioſity brought ſeveral of his countrymen to viſit his retreat; and by degrees his pious, ſimple, and peaceable, manners, induced them to ſettle near him; and they all formed a little colony, which they called Euphrates, in alluſion to the Hebrews, who uſed to ſing pſalms on the borders of that river.

This little city forms a triangle, the outſides of which are bordered with mulberry and apple trees, planted with regularity. In the middle of the town is a very large orchard; and between the orchard and theſe ranges of trees are houſes, built of wood, three ſtories high, where every dumpler is left to enjoy the pleaſures of his meditations without diſturbance. Theſe contemplative men do not amount to above five hundred in all; their territory is about 250 acres in extent, the boundaries of which are marked by a river, a piece of ſtagnated water, and a mountain covered with trees.

The men and women live in ſeparate quarters of the city. They never ſee each other but at places of worſhip, nor are there any aſſemblies of any kind but for public buſineſs. Their life is ſpent in labour, prayer, and ſleep. Twice every day and night they are called forth from their cells to attend divine ſervice. Like the methodiſts and quakers, every individual among them has the right of preaching when he thinks himſelf inſpired. The favourite ſubjects on which they diſcourſe in their aſſemblies, are humility, temperance, chaſtity, and the other chriſtian virtues. They never violate that day of repoſe, which all orders of men, whether idle or laborious, much delight in. They admit a hell and a paradiſe, but reject the eternity of future puniſhments. They abhor the doctrine of original ſin as an impious blaſphemy; and in general every tenet that is ſevere to man appears to them injurious to the divinity. As they do not allow merit to any but voluntary works, they only adminiſter baptiſm to the adult. At the ſame time they think baptiſm ſo eſſentially neceſſary to ſalvation, that they imagine the ſouls of chriſtians in another world are employed in converting thoſe who have not died under the law of the goſpel.

Still more diſintereſted than the quakers, they never allow themſelves any law-ſuits. One may cheat, rob, and abuſe them, without ever being expoſed to any retaliation, or even any complaint from them. Religion has the ſame effect on them that philoſophy had upon the ſtoics; it makes them inſenſible to every kind of inſult.

Nothing can be plainer than their dreſs. In winter, it is a long white gown, from whence there hangs a hood, which ſerves inſtead of a hat, a coarſe ſhirt, thick ſhoes, and very wide breeches. The only difference in ſummer is, that linen is uſed inſtead of woollen. The women are dreſſed much like the men, except that they have no breeches.

Their common food conſiſts wholly of vegetables, not becauſe it is unlawful to eat any other, but becauſe that kind of abſtinence is looked upon as more conformable to the ſpirit of chriſtianity, which has an averſion for blood.

Each individual follows with cheerfulneſs the branch of buſineſs allotted to him. The produce of all their labours

is depoſited in a common ſtock, in order to ſupply the neceſſities of every one. This union of induſtry has not only eſtabliſhed agriculture, manufactures, and all the arts neceſſary for the ſupport of this little ſociety, but hath alſo ſupplied, for the purpoſes of exchange, ſuperfluities proportioned to the degree of its population.

Though the two ſexes live ſeparate at Euphrates, the dumplers do not on that account fooliſhly renounce matrimony; but thoſe who find themſelves diſpoſed to it leave the city, and form an eſtabliſhment in the country, which is ſupported at the public expence. They repay this by the produce of their labours, which is all thrown into the public treaſury, and their children are ſent to be educated in the mother country. Without this wiſe privilege, the dumplers would be no better than monks, and in proceſs of time would become either ſavages or libertines.

The moſt edifying, and at the ſame time the moſt extraordinary, circumſtance, is the harmony that ſubſiſts between all the ſects eſtabliſhed in Pennſylvania, notwithſtanding the difference of their religious opinions. Though not all of the ſame church, they all love and cheriſh one another as children of the ſame father. They have always continued to live like brethren, becauſe they had the liberty of thinking as men. To this delightful harmony muſt be attributed more particularly the rapid progreſs of the colony.

At the beginning of the year 1774, the population of this ſettlement amounted to three hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants, according to the calculations of the general congreſs. It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that thirty thouſand negroes made part of this numerous population; but truth alſo requires us to ſay, that ſlavery, in this province, hath not been a ſource of corruption, as it hath always been, and always will be, in ſocieties that are not ſo well regulated. The manners are ſtill pure, and even auſtere, in Pennſylvania. Is this ſingular advantage to be aſcribed to the climate, the laws, the religion, the emulation conſtantly ſubſiſting between the different ſects, or to ſome other particular cauſe? Let the reader determine this queſtion.

The Pennſylvanians are in general well made, and their women of an agreable figure. As they ſooner become mothers than in Europe, they ſooner ceaſe breeding. If

the heat of the climate ſeems on the one hand to haſten the operations of nature, its inconſtancy weakens them on the other. There is no place where the temperature of the ſky is more uncertain, for it ſometimes changes five or ſix times in the ſame day.

As, however, theſe varieties have neither any dangerous influence upon animals, nor even upon vegetables, and as they do not deſtroy the harveſts, there is a conſtant plenty, and an univerſal appearance of eaſy circumſtances. The economy which is ſo particularly attended to in Pennſylvania does not prevent both ſexes from being well clothed; and their food is ſtill preferable in its kind to their clothing. The families whoſe circumſtances are the leaſt eaſy, have all of them bread, meat, cyder, beer, and rum. A very great number are able to afford to drink conſtantly French and Spaniſh wines, punch, and even liquors of a higher price. The abuſe of theſe ſtrong drinks is leſs frequent than in other places, but is not without example.

The pleaſing view of this abundance is never diſturbed by the melancholy appearance of poverty. There are no poor in all *Pennſylvania*. All thoſe whoſe birth or fortune have left them without reſources, are ſuitably provided for out of the public treaſury. The ſpirit of benevolence is carried ſtill further, and is extended even to the moſt engaging hoſpitality. A traveller is welcome to ſtop in any place, without the apprehenſions of giving the leaſt uneaſy ſenſation, except that of regret for his departure.

The happineſs of the colony is not diſturbed by the oppreſſive burthen of taxes. In 1766, they did not amount to more than 280,140 livres [11,672l. 10s.] Moſt of them, even thoſe that were deſigned to repair the damages of war, were to ceaſe in 1772. If the people did not experience this alleviation at that period, it was owing to the irruptions of the ſavages, which had occaſioned extraordinary expences. This trifling inconvenience would not have been attended to, if Penn's family could have been prevailed upon to contribute to the public expences, in proportion to the revenue they obtained from the province: a circumſtance required by the inhabitants, and which in equity they ought to have complied with.

The Pennſylvanians, happy poſſeſſors, and peaceable tenants, of a country that uſually renders them twenty or

thirty fold for whatever they lay out upon it, are not reſtrained by fear from the propagation of their ſpecies. There is hardly an unmarried perſon to be met with in the country. Marriage is the more happy and the more reverenced for it; the freedom as well as the ſanctity of it, depends upon the choice of the parties: they chooſe the lawyer and the prieſt rather as witneſſes, than as the means to cement their engagement. Whenever two lovers meet with any oppoſition, they go off on horſeback together: the man gets behind his miſtreſs; and in this ſituation they preſent themſelves before the magiſtrate, where the girl declares ſhe has run away with her lover, and that they are come to be married. So ſolemn an avowal cannot be rejected, nor has any perſon a right to give them any moleſtation. In all other caſes, paternal authority is exceſſive. The head of a family, whoſe affairs are involved, is allowed to ſell his children to his creditors; a puniſhment, one ſhould imagine, very ſufficient to induce an affectionate father to attend to his affairs. An adult diſcharges, in one year's ſervice, a debt of 112 livres 10 ſols [4l. 13s. 9d.]; children under twelve years of age are obliged to ſerve till they are one-and-twenty, in order to pay off the ſame ſum. This is an image of the old patriarchal manners of the Eaſt.

Though there be ſeveral villages, and even ſome cities in the colony, moſt of the inhabitants may be ſaid to live ſeparately, as it were, within their families. Every proprietor of land has his houſe in the midſt of a large plantation, entirely ſurrounded with quickſet hedges. Of courſe, each pariſh is near twelve or fifteen leagues in circumference. This diſtance of the churches, makes the ceremonies of religion have little effect, and ſtill leſs influence. Children are not baptiſed till a few months, and ſometimes not till a year or two, after their birth.

All the pomp of religion ſeems to be reſerved for the laſt honours man receives before he is ſhut up in the grave for ever. As ſoon as any perſon is dead in the country, the neareſt neighbours have notice given them of the day of the burial. Theſe ſpread it in the habitations next to theirs; and within a few hours the news is thus conveyed to a diſtance. Every family ſends at leaſt one perſon to attend the funeral. As they come in, they are preſented

with punch and cake. When the aſſembly is complete, the corpſe is carried to the burying-ground belonging to his ſect, or if that ſhould be at too great a diſtance, into one of the fields belonging to the family. There is generally a train of four or five hundred perſons on horſeback, who obſerve a continual ſilence, and have all the external appearance ſuitable to the melancholy nature of the ceremony. One ſingular circumſtance is, that the Pennſylvanians, who are the greateſt enemies to parade during their lives, ſeem to forget this character of modeſty at their deaths. They are all deſirous that the poor remains of their ſhort lives ſhould be attended with a funeral pomp proportioned to their rank or fortune. It is a general obſervation, that plain and virtuous people, even thoſe that are ſavage and poor, pay great attention to the ordering of their funerals. The reaſon is, that they look upon theſe laſt honours as duties of the ſurvivors, and the duties themſelves as ſo many diſtinct proofs of that principle of love which is very ſtrong in private families while they are in a ſtate neareſt to that of nature. It is not the dying man himſelf who exacts theſe honours; his parents, his wife, his children, voluntarily pay them to the aſhes of a huſband and father that has deſerved to be lamented. Theſe ceremonies have always more numerous attendants in ſmall ſocieties than in larger ones, becauſe, though there are fewer families upon the whole, the number of individuals there is much larger, and all the ties that connect them with each other are much ſtronger. This kind of intimate union has been the reaſon why ſo many ſmall nations have overcome larger ones; it drove Xerxes and the Perſians out of Greece, and it will ſome time or other expel the French from Corſica.

But from whence does Pennſylvania get the articles neceſſary for her own conſumption, and in what manner does ſhe contrive to be abundantly furniſhed with them? With the flax and hemp that is produced at home, and the cotton ſhe procures from South America, ſhe fabricates a great quantity of ordinary linens; and with the wool that comes from Europe ſhe manufactures many coarſe cloths. Whatever her own induſtry is not able to furniſh, ſhe purchaſes with the produce of her territory. Her ſhips carry over to the Engliſh, French, Dutch, and Daniſh, iſlands,

biſcuit, flour, butter, cheeſe, tallow, vegetables, fruits, ſalt meat, cyder, beer, and all ſorts of wood for building. The cotton, ſugar, coffee, brandy, and money, received in exchange, are ſo many materials for a freſh commerce with the mother country, and with other European nations, as well as with other colonies. The Azores, Madeira, the Canaries, Spain, and Portugal, open an advantageous market for the corn and wood of Pennſylvania, which they purchaſe with wine and piaſtres. The mother country receives from Pennſylvania, iron, flax, leather, furs, lint-ſeed, maſts, and yards, for which it returns thread, fine cloths, tea, Iriſh and India linens, hardware, and other articles of luxury or neceſſity. But all theſe branches of trade have been hitherto prejudicial to the colony, though it can neither be cenſured nor commiſerated on this account. Whatever meaſures may be adopted, it is unavoidably neceſſary that riſing ſtates ſhould contract debts; and the one we are now ſpeaking of will remain in debt as long as the clearing of the lands requires greater expences than the produce will enable it to anſwer. Other colonies, which enjoy almoſt excluſively ſome branches of trade, ſuch as rice, tobacco, and indigo, muſt have grown rich very rapidly. Pennſylvania, the riches of which are founded on agriculture and the increaſe of her flocks, will acquire them more gradually; but her proſperity will be fixed upon a more firm and permanent baſis.

If any circumſtance can retard the progreſs of the colony, it muſt be the irregular manner in which the plantations are formed. Penn's family, who are the proprietors of all the lands, grant them indiſcriminately in all parts, and in as large a proportion as they are required, provided they are paid 112 livres 10 ſols [4l. 13s. 9d.] for each hundred acres, and that the purchaſers agree to give an annual rent of 22 ſols 6 deniers [18s. 4½d.] The conſequence of this is, that the province wants that ſort of connection which is ſo neceſſary in all eſtabliſhments, and that the ſcattered inhabitants eaſily become the prey of the moſt inſignificant enemy that ventures to attack them.

There are different ways of clearing the lands which are followed in the colony. Sometimes a huntſman will ſettle in the midſt of a foreſt, or quite cloſe to it. His neareſt neighbours aſſiſt him in cutting down trees, and placing

hem one above another: and this conſtitutes a houſe. Around this ſpot he cultivates, without any aſſiſtance, a garden or a field, ſufficient to ſubſiſt himſelf and his family.

A few years after the firſt labours are finiſhed, ſome more active or richer men arrive from the mother country. They indemnify the huntſman for his labour, and agree with the proprietors of the provinces for ſome lands that have not yet been paid for. They build more commodious habitations, and clear a greater extent of territory.

At length ſome Germans, who come into the New World from inclination, or are driven into it by perſecution, complete theſe ſettlements that are as yet unfiniſhed. The firſt and ſecond order of planters remove into other parts, with a more conſiderable ſtock for carrying on agriculture than they had at firſt.

In 1767, the exports of Pennſylvania amounted to 13,164,439 livres 5 ſols 3 deniers [about 548,518l. 6s. 0½d.]; and they have ſince increaſed much more conſiderably in that colony than in any other.

Preſent ſtate of Philadelphia.

PHILADELPHIA, or *the City of Brotherſ*, is the centre of this great trade. This famous city is ſituated at the conflux of the Delaware and the Schuylkill, at the diſtance of 120 miles from the ſea. Penn, who deſtined it for the metropolis of a great empire, deſigned it to be one mile in breadth and two in length between the rivers; but its population has proved inſufficient to cover this extent of ground. Hitherto the banks of the Delaware are only built upon; but without giving up the ideas of the legiſlator, or deviating from his plan. Theſe precautions are highly proper. Philadelphia muſt become the moſt conſiderable city of America, becauſe the colony muſt neceſſarily improve greatly, and its productions muſt paſs through the harbour of the capital before they arrive at the ſea.

The ſtreets of Philadelphia, which are all regular, are from fifty to a hundred feet broad. On each ſide of them there are foot-paths defended by poſts, placed at different diſtances.

The houſes, each of which has its garden and orchard, are commonly three ſtories high, and are built of brick.

The preſent buildings have received an additional decoration from a kind of marble of different colours, which is found about a mile out of the town. Of this, tables, chimney-pieces, and other houſehold furniture, are made; beſides which, it is become rather a conſiderable article of commerce with the greateſt part of America.

Theſe valuable materials could not have been found in common in the houſes, unleſs they had been laviſhed in the churches. Every ſect has its own church, and ſome of them have ſeveral. But there are a number of citizens, who have neither churches, prieſts, nor any public form of worſhip, and who are ſtill happy, humane, and virtuous.

The town-houſe is a building holden in as much veneration, though not ſo much frequented, as the churches. It is conſtructed with the greateſt magnificence. There the legiſlators of the colony aſſemble every year, and more frequently, if neceſſary, to ſettle every thing relative to public buſineſs. Theſe men of truſt are here ſupplied with every publication that may give them any information reſpecting government, trade, and adminiſtration. Next to the town-houſe is a moſt elegant library, formed in 1732, under the care of the learned Dr. Franklin, and conſiſting of the beſt Engliſh, with ſeveral French and Latin, authors. It is only open to the public on Saturdays. The founders have free acceſs to it at all times. Others pay a trifle for the loan of the books, and a forfeit if they be not returned at a ſtated time. This little fund, which is conſtantly accumulating, is appropriated to the increaſe of the library, to which have been lately added, in order to make it more uſeful, ſome mathematical and philoſophical inſtruments, with a very fine cabinet of natural hiſtory.

Not far from this there is another monument of the ſame nature. This conſiſts of a fine collection of Greek and Latin claſſics, with their moſt eſteemed commentators, and of the beſt performances that have graced the modern languages. This library was bequeathed to the public, in 1752, by the learned and generous citizen Logan, who had ſpent a long and laborious life in collecting it.

The college, which is intended to prepare the mind for the attainment of all the ſciences, owed its riſe, in 1749, to the labours of Dr. Franklin, whoſe name ſtands always recorded among the great or uſeful things, accompliſhed

in this country which gave him birth. At firſt, it only initiated the youth in the belles lettres; but medicine, chemiſtry, botany, and natural philoſophy, have been ſince taught there. Knowledge of every kind, and maſters in every ſcience, will increaſe, in proportion as the lands, which are become their patrimony, ſhall yield a greater produce. If ever deſpotiſm, ſuperſtition, or war, ſhould plunge Europe again into that ſtate of barbariſm out of which philoſophy and the arts have extricated it, the ſacred fire will be kept alive in Philadelphia, and come from thence to enlighten the world.

This city is amply ſupplied with every aſſiſtance human nature can require, and with all the reſources induſtry can make uſe of. Its quays, the principal of which is two hundred feet wide, preſent a ſuit of convenient warehouſes and docks ingeniouſly contrived for ſhip-building. Ships of five hundred tons may land there without any difficulty, except in times of froſt. There is taken on-board the merchandize which has either been brought by the rivers Schuylkill and Delaware, or carried along better roads than are to be met with in moſt parts of Europe. Police has made a greater progreſs in this part of the New World than among the moſt ancient nations of the Old.

It is impoſſible to determine preciſely the population of Philadelphia, as the bills of mortality are not kept with any exactneſs, and there are ſeveral ſects who do not chriſten their children. It appears, however, that in 1766 it contained 20,000 inhabitants. As moſt of them are employed in the ſale of the productions of the colony, and in ſupplying it with what they draw from abroad, their fortunes muſt neceſſarily be very conſiderable; and they muſt increaſe ſtill further in proportion as the cultivation advances in a country where not above one ſixth of the land has hitherto been cleared.

Philadelphia, as well as the other cities of Pennſylvania, is entirely open. The whole country is equally without defence. This is a neceſſary conſequence of the principles of the quakers. Theſe ſectaries cannot be too much favoured, on account of their modeſty, probity, love of labour, and benevolence. One might, perhaps, be tempted to accuſe their legiſlation of imprudence and temerity.

It may, perhaps, be ſaid, that when the founders of

the colony eſtabliſhed that civil ſecurity which protects one citizen from another, they ſhould alſo have eſtabliſhed that political ſecurity, which protects one ſtate from the encroachments of another. The authority which hath been exerted to maintain peace and good order at home, ſeems to have done nothing, if it has not prevented invaſion from abroad. To pretend that the colony would never have enemies, was to ſuppoſe the world peopled with quakers. It was encouraging the ſtrong to fall upon the weak, leaving the lamb to the mercy of the wolf, and ſubmitting the whole country to the oppreſſive yoke of the firſt tyrant who ſhould think proper to ſubdue it.

But on the other hand, how ſhall we reconcile the ſtrictneſs of the goſpel maxims, by which the quakers are literally governed, with thoſe military preparations, either offenſive or defenſive, which maintain a continual ſtate of war between all chriſtian nations? Beſides, what could the enemy do if they were to enter Pennſylvania ſword in hand? Unleſs they maſſacred, in the ſpace of a night or a day's time, all the inhabitants of that fortunate region, they would not be able totally to extirpate the race of thoſe mild and charitable men. Violence has its boundaries in its very exceſs; it is conſumed and extinguiſhed, as the fire in the aſhes that feed it. But virtue when guided by humanity and by the ſpirit of benevolence, is revived as the tree under the edge of the pruning knife. The wicked ſtand in need of numbers to execute their ſanguinary projects. But the quaker, who is a good man, wants only a brother from whom he may receive, or to whom he may give, aſſiſtance. Let then the warlike nations, let people who are either ſlaves or tyrants, go into Pennſylvania; there they will find all avenues open to them, all property at their diſpoſal; not a ſingle ſoldier, but numbers of merchants and farmers. But if theſe inhabitants be tormented, reſtrained, or oppreſſed, they will fly, and leave their lands uncultivated, their manufactures deſtroyed, and their warehouſes empty. They will cultivate, and ſpread population in, ſome new land; they will go round the world rather than turn their arms againſt their purſuers, or ſubmit to bear their yoke. Their enemies will have only gained the hatred of mankind, and the execration of poſterity.

May I not be deceived in what I have advanced; and may I not have miſtaken the wiſhes of my heart for a decree of truth! I am diſtreſſed even at the bare ſuſpicion. Fortunate and wiſe country! art thou then one day to experience the fatal deſtiny of other countries? art thou to be raviſhed and ſubdued as they have been? Far be it from me to entertain a preſage that might tend to invalidate, in my mind, the moſt comfortable of all ideas; that there exiſts a providence who watches over the preſervation of the good! Nor let the numerous events which ſeem to depoſe the contrary have any influence over me!

It is upon this proſpect that the Pennſylvanians have founded their opinion of their future ſecurity. Beſides, as they do not perceive that the moſt warlike ſtates are the moſt permanent; that miſtruſt, which is ever upon its guard, makes men reſt with greater tranquillity, or that there can be any ſatisfaction in the poſſeſſion of any thing that is kept with ſuch apprehenſions; they enjoy the preſent moment without any concern for the future. The people of Maryland are of a different opinion.

Origin of Maryland. Nature of its government.

CHARLES the Firſt, far from having any averſion for the catholics, as his predeceſſors, had ſome reaſon to protect them, from the zeal which, in hopes of being tolerated, they had ſhewn for his intereſt. But when the accuſation of being favourable to popery had alienated the minds of the people from that weak prince, whoſe chief aim was to eſtabliſh a deſpotic government, he was obliged to give the catholics up to the rigour of the laws enacted againſt them by Henry the Eighth. Theſe circumſtances induced Lord Baltimore to ſeek an aſylum in Virginia, where he might be indulged in a liberty of conſcience. As he found there no toleration for an excluſive ſyſtem of faith, which was itſelf intolerant, he formed the deſign of a new ſettlement in that uninhabited part of the country which lay between the river of Potowmack and Pennſylvania. His death, which happened ſoon after he had obtained powers from the crown for peopling this land, put a ſtop to the project for that time; but it was reſumed, from ſome religious motives, by his ſon. This young nobleman left England in the year 1633, with two hun-

dred Roman catholics, moſt of them of good families. The education they had received, the cauſe of religion for which they had left their country, and the fortune which their leader promiſed them, prevented thoſe diſturbances which are but too common in infant ſettlements. The neighbouring ſavages, won by mildneſs and acts of beneficence, concurred with eagerneſs to aſſiſt the new coloniſts in forming their ſettlement. With this unexpected help, theſe fortunate perſons, attached to each other by the ſame principles of religion, and directed by the prudent councils of their chief, applied themſelves unanimouſly to every kind of uſeful labour: the view of the peace and happineſs they enjoyed, invited among them a number of men who were either perſecuted for the ſame religion, or for different opinions. The catholics of Maryland gave up at length the intolerant principles, of which they themſelves had been the victims, after having firſt ſet the example of them, and opened the doors of their colony to all ſects, of what religious principles ſoever. They all enjoyed the rights of a city in the ſame extent; and the government was modelled upon that of the mother country.

Theſe wiſe precautions, however, did not ſecure Baltimore, at the time of the ſubverſion of the monarchy, from loſing all the conceſſions he had obtained. Deprived of his poſſeſſions by Cromwell, he was reſtored to them by Charles II; after which they were again diſputed with him. Though he was perfectly clear from any reproach of maladminiſtration; and though he was extremely zealous for the tramontane doctrines, and much attached to the intereſts of the Stuarts; yet he had the mortification of finding the legality of his charter attacked under the arbitrary reign of James II, and of being obliged to maintain an action at law for the juriſdiction of a province which had been ceded to him by the crown, and which he himſelf had formed at his own expence. This prince, whoſe misfortune it had always been not to diſtinguiſh his friends from his foes, and who had alſo the ridiculous pride to think that regal authority was ſufficient to juſtify every act of violence, was preparing a ſecond time to deprive Baltimore of what had been given him by the two kings, his father and brother, when he was himſelf removed from the throne which he was ſo unfit to fill. The ſucceſſor of this weak

deſpotic prince terminated this conteſt, which had ariſen before his acceſſion to the crown, in a manner worthy of his political character: he left the Baltimores in poſſeſſion of their revenues, but deprived them of their authority. When this family, who were more regardleſs of the prejudices of religion, became members of the church of England, they were reinſtated in the hereditary government of Maryland; they began again to conduct the colony, aſſiſted by a council, and two deputies, choſen by each diſtrict.

Events which have happened at Maryland.

FORTUNATELY for itſelf, Maryland hath been leſs fruitful in events than any other ſettlement formed in the northern continent. There are only two facts worthy of being recorded in its hiſtory.

Berkley, extravagantly zealous for the church of England, expelled from Virginia thoſe among its inhabitants who did not profeſs this mode of worſhip; and they were obliged to ſeek an aſylum in the province we are now ſpeaking of. The Virginians were highly incenſed at the favourable reception which theſe people met with; and in the firſt rage of an unjuſt reſentment, they perſuaded the ſavages that their new neighbours were Spaniards. This odious name entirely changed the ſentiments of the Indians; and, without deliberation, they ravaged the grounds which they had aſſiſted in clearing; and maſſacred, without mercy thoſe very men whom they had juſt received in a brotherly manner. It required a great deal of time, and patience, and many ſacrifices, before theſe prejudiced minds could be convinced of their miſtake.

Baltimore, attending more to his reaſon than to the prejudices of education, granted an equal ſhare in the government to every different profeſſor of chriſtianity. The catholics were excluded from it, at the memorable period when this nobleman was deprived of his authority. The Britiſh miniſtry either could not, or would not, put a ſtop to this act of fanaticiſm. It exerted its influence only in preventing the founders of the colony from being driven out of it, and the penal laws, which were not even attended to in England, from being inforced.

Preſent ſtate of Maryland. Its cultures.

THE province is very well watered. A number of ſprings are found in it, and it is interſected by five navigable rivers. The air, which is much too damp upon the coaſts, becomes pure, light, and thin, in proportion as the ſoil becomes more elevated. Spring and autumn are moſt agreeably temperate; but in the winter there are ſome exceedingly cold days; and in ſummer, ſome in which the heat is very troubleſome. The circumſtance, however, which is the leaſt ſupportable in this country, is the great quantity of diſguſting inſects that are found there.

Maryland is one of the ſmalleſt provinces of North America; and accordingly, grants have been made of almoſt all the territory, both in the plains and upon the mountains. They remained for a long time either fallow, or very ill cultivated; but the labours have increaſed, ſince the population, according to the calculation of congreſs, hath amounted to three hundred and twenty thouſand inhabitants.

Several of theſe are catholics, and a great many more are Germans. Their manners have more mildneſs than energy; and this may ariſe from the women not being excluded from ſociety, as in moſt of the other parts of the continent. The men who are free, and not very rich, who are ſettled upon the high grounds, and who originally bred no flocks, cut no wood, and cultivated no corn, but for the uſe of the colony, have gradually furniſhed a great quantity of theſe articles to the Weſt-Indies. The proſperity, however, of the colony, hath been more particularly owing to the ſlaves employed at a greater or leſs diſtance from the ſea, in the plantations of tobacco.

This is a ſharp cauſtic plant; formerly much uſed, as it ſtill is, ſometimes in medicine, which, if taken inwardly, in ſubſtance, is a real poiſon, more or leſs active, according to the doſe. It is chewed, ſmoked in the leaves, and is in more general uſe as ſnuff.

It was diſcovered in the year 1520, near Tabaſco, in the gulf of Mexico, from whence it was carried to the neighbouring iſlands. It was ſoon after introduced in our climates, where the uſe of it became a matter of diſpute among the learned, which even the ignorant took a part in; and thus tobacco acquired celebrity. By degrees

faſhion and cuſtom have greatly extended its conſumption in all parts of the known world.

The ſtem of this plant is ſtraight, hairy, and viſcous. It is three or four feet high. Its leaves, equally downy, and diſpoſed alternately on the ſtem, are thick, pulpy, of a pale green, broad, oval, terminating in a point, and much larger at the foot than at the ſummit of the plant. This ſummit branches out into cluſters of flowers of a light purple hue. Their tubular calix, which hath five indentations, incloſes a corolla, lengthened out in form of a funnel, ſpread out at the top, divided into five parts, and furniſhed with as many ſtamina. The piſtil, concealed at the bottom of the flower, and terminated by a ſingle ſtyle, becomes, as it ripens, a capſula, with two cavities filled with ſmall ſeeds.

Tobacco requires a moderately binding ſoil, but rich, even, deep, and not too much expoſed to inundations. A virgin ſoil is very proper for this plant, which abſorbs a great deal of moiſture.

The ſeeds of the tobacco are ſown upon beds. When it is grown to the height of two inches, and hath got at leaſt half a dozen leaves, it is gently pulled up in damp weather, and tranſplanted, with great care, into a well-prepared ſoil, where the plants are placed at the diſtance of three feet from each other. When they are put into the ground with theſe precautions, their leaves do not ſuffer the leaſt injury; and all their vigour is renewed in four-and-twenty hours.

The cultivation of tobacco requires continual attention. The weeds which grow round it muſt be plucked up; the top of it muſt be cut off, when it is two feet and a half from the ground, to prevent it from growing too high; it muſt be ſtripped of all ſprouting ſuckers; the leaves which grow too near the bottom of the ſtem, thoſe that are in the leaſt inclined to decay, and thoſe which the inſects have touched, muſt all be taken off, and their number reduced to eight or ten at moſt. One induſtrious man is able to take care of two thouſand ſix hundred plants, which ought to yield one thouſand weight of tobacco.

The plant is left about four months in the ground. As it advances to maturity, the pleaſant and lively green colour of its leaves is changed into a darker hue; the leaves

are alſo curved, the ſcent of them grows ſtronger, and extends to a diſtance. The plant is then ripe, and muſt be cut up.

The plants, when collected, are laid in heaps upon the ground that produced them, where they are left to exude only for one night. The next day they are laid in warehouſes, conſtructed in ſuch a manner that the air may have free acceſs to them on all ſides. Here they are left ſeparately ſuſpended as long a time as is neceſſary to dry them properly. They are then ſpread upon hurdles, and well covered over, where they ferment for a week or two. At laſt they are ſtripped of their leaves, which are either put into barrels, or made up into rolls. The other methods of preparing the plant, which vary according to the different taſtes of the ſeveral nations that uſe it, have nothing to do with its cultivation.

The inhabitants of the Eaſt-Indies, and of Africa, cultivate tobacco only for their own uſe. They neither ſell nor purchaſe any.

Salonica is the great mart for tobacco in the Levant. Syria, the Morea, or the Peloponneſus, and Egypt, ſend there all their ſuperfluous quantity. From this port it is ſent to Italy, where it is ſmoked, after it hath been mixed with the tobacco of Dalmatia and Croatia, to ſoften its cauſtic quality.

The tobacco of theſe two laſt provinces is of a very excellent kind; but it is ſo ſtrong, that it cannot be uſed till mixed with a milder ſort.

The tobacco of Hungary would be tolerably good, if it had not generally a ſmell of ſmoke which is very diſguſting.

The Ukraine, Livonia, Pruſſia, and Pomerania, cultivate a tolerably large quantity of this production. Its leaves are wider than they are long, are very thin, and have neither flavour nor conſiſtence. In order to improve it, the court of Ruſſia hath cauſed ſome tobacco ſeeds, brought from Virginia and from Hamersfort, to be ſown in their colonies of Sarratow, upon the Volga; but this experiment hath been attended with little or no ſucceſs.

The tobacco of the Palatinate is very indifferent; but it hath the property of mixing with a better kind, and of acquiring its flavour.

Holland alſo furniſhes tobacco. That which is produced in the province of Utrecht, from Hamersfort, and from four or five neighbouring diſtricts, is of a ſuperior quality. Its leaves are large, ſupple, oily, and of a good quality. It hath the uncommon advantage of communicating its delicious perfume to tobacco of an inferior quality. There is a great deal of this latter ſort upon the territories of the republic; but the ſpecies which grows in Guelderland is the worſt of any.

Tobacco was formerly cultivated in France, and with more ſucceſs than anywhere elſe, near Pont de l'Arche in Normandy, at Verton in Picardy, and at Montaban, Tonneins, and Cleral, in Guyenne. It was prohibited in 1721, except upon ſome frontier towns, whoſe original terms of capitulation it was not thought proper to infringe. Hainault, Artois, and Franche Compté, profited very little from a liberty which the nature of their ſoil did not allow them to make uſe of. It has been more uſeful to Flanders and Alſace; for their tobaccos, though very weak, may be mixed, without inconvenience, with others of a ſuperior kind.

In the beginning, the iſlands of the New World attended to the culture of tobacco; but it was ſucceſſively ſucceeded by richer productions in them all, except at Cuba, which ſupplies all the ſnuff conſumed by the Spaniards of both hemiſpheres. Its perfume is exquiſite, but too ſtrong. The ſame crown derives from Caraccas the tobacco which is ſmoked by its ſubjects in Europe. It is likewiſe uſed in the north, and in Holland, becauſe there is none to be found anywhere to be compared with it, for this purpoſe.

The Brazils cultivated this production very early, and have not ſince diſdained it. They have been encouraged in this purſuit, by the conſtant repute which their tobacco hath enjoyed upon the weſtern coaſts of Africa. Even in our climates, it is in tolerable requeſt among perſons who ſmoke. It could not be taken in ſnuff, on account of its acrimony, without the preparations which it undergoes. Theſe preparations conſiſt in ſoaking every leaf in a decoction of tobacco, and of gum copal. Theſe leaves, thus ſteeped, are formed into rolls, and wrapped up in the ſkin of an ox, which keeps up their moiſture.

But the beſt tobaccos upon the face of the earth grow in the north of America; and in that part of the New World, the tobacco gathered at Maryland is of the ſecond ſort. This plant has not, however, an equal degree of perfection throughout the whole extent of the colonies. That of the growth of Cheſter and of Chouptan, reſembles the Virginia tobacco in quality, and is conſumed in France. That which grows in Patapſiſco and Potuxant, which is very fit for ſmoking, is conſumed in the north, and in Holland. Upon the northern ſhores of the Potowmack, the tobacco is excellent in the higher parts, and of moderate quality in the lower ones.

Saint Mary, formerly the capital of the ſtate, is of no conſequence at preſent; and Annapolis, which now enjoys this prerogative, is ſcarce more conſiderable. It is at Baltimore that almoſt all the buſineſs is tranſacted, the harbour of which can receive ſhips that draw ſeventeen feet of water. Theſe three towns, the only ones which are in the colony, are ſituated upon the bay of Cheſapeak, which runs two hundred and fifty miles up the country, and the mean breadth of which is twelve miles. There are two capes at its entrance; and in the middle is a ſand bank. The channel which is near Cape Charles can admit none but very ſmall veſſels, while that which runs along-ſide Cape Henry admits the largeſt ſhips at any ſeaſon of the year.

What Maryland may become.

FEW of the lands between the Apalachian mountains and the ſea are ſo good as thoſe of Maryland. Theſe however, are in general too light, ſandy, and ſhallow, to reward the planter for his labour and expences, in as ſhort a time as in our climates. Fertility, which always attends the firſt clearing of the ſoil, is rapidly followed by an extraordinary decreaſe in the quantity and quality of the corn. The ſoil is ſtill ſooner exhauſted by the culture of tobacco. This leaf loſes much of its ſtrength, whenever the ſame ſpot hath yielded, without intermiſſion, a few crops of tobacco. For this reaſon, inſpectors were created in 1733, who were empowered to cauſe all the tobacco to be burnt which had not the proper flavour. This was a prudent inſtitution; but it ſeems to foretel, that the

moſt important production of the province muſt one day be given up, or that it will inſenſibly be reduced to very little.

Then, or perhaps before, the iron mines, which are in great abundance in the colony, will be worked. This is a ſource of proſperity which hath not hitherto been carried beyond the uſe of ſeventeen or eighteen forges. A greater degree of liberty, and new wants, will communicate more ſtrength and more activity to the coloniſts.

Other manufactures will alſo undoubtedly ariſe. Maryland had never any of any kind. It received from Great Britain all the articles it wanted for the moſt ordinary purpoſes of life. This was one of the reaſons which occaſioned its being burthened with debts. Mr. Stirenwith hath at length eſtabliſhed manufactures for ſtockings, for ſilk, woollen, and cotton, ſtuffs, and for all kinds of hardware, even fire-arms. Theſe branches of induſtry, at preſent united in one manufacture, at a conſiderable expence, and with extraordinary ſagacity, will be more or leſs rapidly diſperſed throughout the province; and, croſſing the Potowmack, will be likewiſe adopted at Virginia.

In what manner Virginia was eſtabliſhed, and by whom.

THIS other colony, with the ſame kind of ſoil and of climate as Maryland, hath a few advantages over the latter. Its extent is much more conſiderable. Its rivers can admit larger ſhips, and allow them a longer navigation. Its inhabitants have a more elevated turn of mind, have more reſolution, and are more enterpriſing: this may be attributed to their being generally of Engliſh extraction.

Virginia was, about two centuries ago, the only country which England intended to occupy on the continent of North America. This name doth not at preſent belong to any thing more than the ſpace which is bounded by Maryland on one ſide, and by Carolina on the other.

The Engliſh landed upon theſe ſavage ſhores in 1606, and their firſt ſettlement was Jameſtown. Unfortunately, the object that firſt preſented itſelf to them was a rivulet, which, iſſuing from a ſand-bank, carried along with it a quantity of talc, which glittered at the bottom of a

clear and running water. In an age when gold and ſilver were the only objects of men's reſearches, this deſpicable ſubſtance was immediately taken for ſilver. The firſt and only employment of the new coloniſts was to collect it; and the illuſion was carried ſo far, that two ſhips, which arrived there with neceſſaries, were ſent home ſo fully freighted with theſe imaginary riches, that there ſcarce remained any room for a few furs. As long as this infatuation laſted, the coloniſts diſdained to employ themſelves in clearing the lands; ſo that a dreadful famine was at length the conſequence of this fooliſh pride. Sixty men only remained alive out of five hundred who had been ſent from Europe. Theſe unfortunate few, having only a fortnight's proviſion left, were upon the point of embarking for Newfoundland, when Lord Delaware arrived there with three ſhips, a freſh colony, and ſupplies of all kinds.

Hiſtory has deſcribed this nobleman to us as a man whoſe genius raiſed him above the common prejudices of the times. His diſintereſtedneſs was equal to his knowledge. In accepting the government of the colony, which was ſtill in its infancy, he had no motive but to gratify the inclination a virtuous mind has to do good, and to ſecure the eſteem of poſterity, which is the ſecond reward of that generoſity that devotes itſelf totally to the ſervice of the public. As ſoon as he appeared, the knowledge of his character procured him univerſal reſpect. He firſt endeavoured to reconcile the wretched coloniſts to their fatal country, to comfort them in their ſufferings, and to make them hope for a ſpeedy concluſion of them. After this, joining the firmneſs of an enlightened magiſtrate to the tenderneſs of a good father, he taught them how to direct their labours to an uſeful end. Unfortunately for the reviving colony, Delaware's declining health ſoon obliged him to return to Europe; but he never loſt ſight of his favourite coloniſts, nor ever failed to make uſe of all his credit and intereſt at court to ſupport them.

The colony, however, made but little progreſs; a circumſtance that was attributed to the oppreſſion of excluſive privileges. The company which exerciſed them was diſſolved upon Charles the Firſt's acceſſion to the throne. Before that period, all the authority had been entirely in

the hands of the monopoly. Virginia then came under the immediate direction of the crown, which exacted no more than a rent of two livres five ſols [1s. 10½d.] upon every hundred acres that were cultivated.

Till this time the coloniſts had known no true enjoyment of property. Every individual wandered where chance directed him, or fixed himſelf in the place he liked beſt, without conſulting any titles or agreements. At length boundaries were aſcertained; and thoſe who had been ſo long wanderers, now become citizens, had determined limits to their plantations. The eſtabliſhment of this firſt law of ſociety changed the appearance of every thing. Freſh plantations aroſe on all ſides. This activity drew great numbers of enterpriſing men over to Virginia, who came either in ſearch of fortune, or of liberty, which is the only compenſation for the want of it. The memorable troubles that produced a change in the conſtitution of England, added to theſe a multitude of royaliſts, who went there with a reſolution to wait, with Berkley, the governor of the colony, who was alſo attached to King Charles, the fate of that deſerted monarch. Berkley ſtill continued to protect them, even after the king's death; but ſome of the inhabitants, either brought over or bribed, and ſupported by the appearance of a powerful fleet, delivered up the colony to the protector. If the governor was compelled to follow the ſtream againſt his will, he was, at leaſt, among thoſe whom Charles had honoured with poſts of confidence and rank, the laſt who ſubmitted to Cromwell, and the firſt who ſhook off his yoke. This brave man was ſinking under the oppreſſion of the times, when the voice of the people recalled him to the place which his ſucceſſor's death had left vacant; but far from yielding to theſe flattering ſolicitations, he declared that he never would ſerve any but the legitimate heir of the dethroned monarch. Such an example of magnanimity, at a time when there were no hopes of the reſtoration of the royal family, made ſuch an impreſſion upon the minds of the people, that Charles the Second was proclaimed in Virginia before he had been proclaimed in England.

Obſtacles to the proſperity of Virginia.

The colony did not, however, receive from ſo generous a ſtep all the benefit that might have been expected. The new monarch, either from weakneſs or corruption, granted to rapacious courtiers immenſe territories, which abſorbed the poſſeſſions of a great number of obſcure citizens. The act of navigation, ſuggeſted by the protector for the purpoſe of ſecuring to the mother country the ſupplying of all their ſettlements in the New World with proviſions, and the excluſive trade of all their productions, was obſerved with ſuch rigour, as to double almoſt the value of the articles to be purchaſed by Virginia, and leſſen ſtill more the value of what they had to ſell. This double oppreſſion exhauſted all the reſources, and diſpelled all the hopes, of the colony; and to complete its misfortunes, the ſavages attacked it with a degree of ſpirit and ſkill which they had not manifeſted in any of the preceding wars.

Scarce had the Engliſh landed in theſe unknown regions, than they had diſpoſed the natives againſt them by the diſhoneſty they had practiſed in their exchanges. This ſource of diſcord might have been put a ſtop to, had the Engliſh conſented to take Indian wives, as they were ſolicited to do. But although they had not yet any European women with them, they rejected this connection with diſdain. This contempt exaſperated the Americans, already alienated by their want of faith; and they became irreconcilable enemies. Their hatred was manifeſted by ſecret aſſaſſinations, and by public hoſtilities, and in 1622, by a conſpiracy, in which three hundred and thirty-four people loſt their lives, and which would even have deſtroyed the whole colony, had not the commanders been appriſed of the danger a few hours before the time appointed for a general maſſacre.

Since this act of treachery, many atrocious ones have been committed on both ſides. Truces between the two nations were unfrequent, and ill obſerved. The rupture was uſually begun by the Engliſh. The leſs profit they drew from their plantations, the more artifice and force did they employ to deprive the ſavages of their furs. This inſatiable avidity, which indiſcriminately ſeized upon all the inhabitants, whether ſettled or wandering, in the

neighbourhood of the colony, made the Americans again take up arms towards the end of the year 1675. They all, by agreement, fell upon the ſettlements imprudently diſperſed, and at too great a diſtance to afford each other any aſſiſtance.

Such a complication of misfortunes drove the Virginians to deſpair. Berkley, who had ſo long been their idol, was accuſed of wanting fortitude to reſiſt the oppreſſions of the mother country, and activity to repel the irruptions of the ſavages. The eyes of all were immediately fixed upon Bacon, a young officer, full of vivacity, eloquence, and intrepidity, of an inſinuating diſpoſition, and an agreeable perſon. They choſe him for their general, in an irregular and tumultuous manner. Though his military ſucceſſes might have juſtified this prepoſſeſſion of the licentious multitude, yet this circumſtance did not prevent the governor, who, with his remaining partiſans, had retired on the borders of the Potowmack, from declaring Bacon a traitor to his country. A ſentence ſo ſevere, and which was ill-timed, determined Bacon to aſſume a power by force, which he had exerciſed peaceably, and without oppoſition, for ſix months. Death put an end to all his projects. The malcontents, diſunited by the loſs of their chief, and intimidated by the troops which were coming from Europe, were induced to ſue for pardon, which was readily granted them. The rebellion, therefore, was attended with no bad conſequences, and mercy inſured ſubmiſſion.

Tranquillity was no ſooner reſtored, than means were thought of to reconcile the Indians, with whom all intercourſe had for ſome time been at an end. The communications were opened again in the year 1678, by the general aſſembly; but it was ſtipulated, that the exchanges ſhould be made in no other markets, except ſuch as were ſettled by themſelves. This innovation diſpleaſed the ſavages; and matters ſoon returned to their former courſe.

The raiſing of the value of tobacco was a ſtill more important object, as this was the moſt conſiderable, and almoſt the only, production of the colony. It was thought that nothing would contribute more effectually to raiſe it from the ſtate of degradation into which it had fallen, than

to refuse the tobaccos which were brought to Virginia from Maryland and from Carolina, and to send them to Europe. If the legislators had been better informed, they would have understood, that this staple must necessarily, sooner or later, draw into their own hands the freight of this commodity, and would make them the arbiters of its price. By sending it away from their ports, through an ill-judged motive of avarice, they drew upon themselves, in all the markets, competitors, who convinced them, by dear-bought experience, of the error of their principles.

These arrangements were scarcely made, before there arrived a new governor to the colony, in the spring of 1679. This was Lord Colepepper. The troubles with which this settlement had been so recently agitated encouraged him to propose a law, which should condemn to one year's imprisonment, or to a fine of 11,250 livres [468l. 15s.] all those citizens who should speak or write any thing against their governor; and to three months imprisonment, or to a fine of 2,250 livres [93l. 15s.] those who should speak or write against the members of the council, or against any other magistrate.

Was this governor apprehensive then, that the faults of administration, and the dishonesty of its administrators, should be suspected? In what part of the world would not the same consequences be drawn from the imposing of silence? Is it praise or censure that is feared, when the command for silence is issued? These prohibitions calumniate the government, if it be good, because they tend to persuade that it is not so. But what measures can be adopted to inforce the observance of these prohibitions? Can we be ignorant, that it is the nature of man to attempt those actions, which, by becoming dangerous, have a sense of glory attached to them? To oppress a man, and to prevent him from murmuring and complaining, is an atrocious act of violence against which he never fails to revolt. But how will the government discover those who are rebellious to their orders? This can only be done by spies, by informations, and by all those measures which will certainly divide the citizens, and raise mistrust and [illegible] among them. Whom will government punish? The most honest and the most generous men, who will never be silent when

they are perſuaded that it is their duty to ſpeak out. They will certainly bid defiance to menaces, or will know how to elude them. If they ſhould adopt the firſt of theſe reſolutions, will government dare to impriſon them? and if it ſhould, would they not ſoon find perſons to avenge them? If it ſhould not, they would fall into contempt. If theſe men had been allowed to explain themſelves with frankneſs, they would have blended dignity and moderation in their remonſtrances. Conſtraint, and the danger of puniſhment, will transform theſe remonſtrances into violent, bitter, and ſeditious, libels; and it is the tyranny of government that will have rendered them guilty. Sovereigns, or you who are depoſitaries of their authority, if your adminiſtration be a good one, deliver it up to all the ſeverity of our examination; it can only inſure our reſpect and ſubmiſſion. If it be a bad one, correct it, or defend it by force. If you be a ſet of abominable tyrants, have at leaſt the courage to acknowledge it. If you be juſt, let the people talk and ſleep in peace. If you be oppreſſors, tranquillity and ſleep are not made for you, nor will you ever enjoy them, notwithſtanding all your efforts. Remember the fate of him who was willing to be hated, provided he might be feared. You will certainly experience the ſame, unleſs you be ſurrounded by vile ſlaves, ſuch as the inhabitants of Virginia at that time undoubtedly were. The repreſentatives of this province granted, without heſitation, their conſent to a law, which ſecured impunity to all the plunders of their governors. The misfortunes of Virginia were ſoon aggravated by other calamities.

At the origin of the colony, juſtice was adminiſtered with a degree of diſintereſtedneſs which warranted the equity of the judgments. One ſingle court took cognizance of all differences, and decided upon them in a few days, with a right of appeal to the general aſſembly, which uſed as much diſpatch in ſettling them. This order of things gave the governors too little influence over the fortunes of individuals, for them not to endeavour to ſuppreſs it. By their manœuvres, and under ſeveral pretences, they obtained that the appeals, which till then had been carried before the repreſentatives of the province, ſhould be made excluſively to their council.

A ſtill more fatal innovation was ordained in 1692 by another governor, who enacted, that the laws, the tribunals, the formalities, every thing, in a word, that contributed to form the chaos of Engliſh juriſprudence, ſhould be eſtabliſhed in his government. Nothing was leſs ſuitable to the planters of Virginia, than ſtatutes ſo ſingular, ſo complicated, and often ſo contradictory. Accordingly, theſe uninformed men found themſelves engaged in a labyrinth to which they could find no iſſue. They were generally alarmed for their rights and their properties; and this apprehenſion ſlackened their labours for a long time.

Theſe were not carried on with vigour and ſucceſs, till after the beginning of the century, at which time nothing impeded their increaſe; only the frontiers of the colony were expoſed in the latter times to the devaſtations of the ſavages, whom they had exaſperated by their acts of atrociouſneſs and injuſtice. Theſe differences were terminated in 1774. They would have been forgotten, had it not been for the ſpeech made by Logan, chief of the Shawaneſes, to lord Dunmore, governor of the province.

"I now aſk of every white man, whether he hath ever "entered the cottage of Logan, when preſſed with hun- "ger, and been refuſed food? Whether coming naked, "and ſhivering with cold, Logan hath not given him "ſomething to cover himſelf with. During the courſe of "this laſt war, ſo long and ſo bloody, Logan hath remained "quietly upon his mat, wiſhing to be the advocate of peace. "Yes, ſuch is my attachment for white men, that even "thoſe of my nation, when they paſſed by me, pointed at "me, ſaying, *Logan is a friend to white men.* I had even "thought of living amongſt you; but that was before the "injury which I have received from one of you. Laſt "ſummer, Colonel Creſſop maſſacred in cool blood, and "without any provocation, all the relations of Logan, "without ſparing either his wife or his children. There is "not now one drop of my blood in the veins of any human "creature exiſting. This is what has excited my revenge. "I have fought it; I have killed ſeveral of your people, "and my hatred is appeaſed. I rejoice at ſeeing the proſpect of peace brighten upon my country. But do not "imagine that my joy is inſtigated by fear. Logan knows "not what fear is. He will never turn his back, in order

" to save his life. But, alas! no one remains to mourn for " Logan when he shall be no more!"

What a beautiful, simple, energetic, and affecting speech! Are Demosthenes, Cicero, or Bossuet, more eloquent than this savage? What better proof can be adduced of the truth of that well known maxim, which says, that " from the " abundance of the heart the mouth speaks."

Population, trade, and manners, of Virginia.

VIRGINIA, like most of the other colonies, was inhabited at first only by vagabonds, destitute of family and fortune. They soon obtained some kind of wealth by labour, and they were desirous of sharing the sweets of it with a female companion. As there were no women in the province, and that they would have none but such as were decent, they gave 2,250 livres [93l. 15s.] for every young person brought them from Europe with a certificate of virtue and chastity. This custom was not of long duration. As soon as all doubts respecting the salubrity and fertility of the country were removed, whole families, even of respectable rank, went to Virginia. The population was increasing with some degree of rapidity, when its progress was stopped by fanaticism.

The religion of the mother country was the first, and soon became the only one, which was followed in this province, when some non-conformists also crossed the seas. Their tenets, or their ceremonies, disgusted; and in 1624 a law was made, which expelled from the province all those inhabitants who did not belong to the church of England. The imperious law of necessity soon caused the revocation of this fatal decree: but a toleration so tardy, and which was evidently granted with reluctance, did not produce the great effects that were expected from it. A small number only of presbyterians, quakers, and French refugees, ventured to put any trust in this repentance. The religion of Henry VIII. continued to be the prevailing one, and was almost exclusive.

In process of time, however, men multiplied upon this soil, the fertility of which was daily increasing in reputation. The passion for riches with which the old continent was more and more infected, gave citizens incessantly to this part of the New World. If the calculations of congress be

not exaggerated, the population amounts to ſix hundred and fifty thouſand ſouls, including the ſlaves, whoſe number, according to the common opinion, amounts to one hundred and fifty thouſand. The Dutch firſt introduced theſe unfortunate people into the colony in 1620.

The labours of theſe white men, and of theſe negroes, give to the two hemiſpheres, corn, maize, dry vegetables, iron, hemp, hides, furs, ſalt meats, tar, wood, maſts, and eſpecially tobacco, which is generally ſuperior to that of Maryland, though it be not equally excellent in every part of the province. The preference is given to that of York river; the ſecond beſt is reckoned to be that which grows along James's river, and that which grows on the borders of the Rappahanoc, and to the ſouth of the Potowmack, is the leaſt eſteemed.

From 1752 till the end of 1755, Great Britain received from Virginia and Maryland together, three million five hundred and one thouſand one hundred and ten quintals of tobacco, which made for each of the four years, eight hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand two hundred and fourſcore quintals. Virginia exported two million nine hundred and eighty-nine thouſand eight hundred quintals, which reduced its annual conſumption to one hundred and twenty-ſeventy thouſand eight hundred and thirty quintals.

From the year 1763, till the end of 1770, the two colonies ſent to the mother country no more than ſix million five hundred thouſand quintals of tobacco, or eight hundred and twelve thouſand five hundred quintals each of the eight years. No more was ſold to foreigners than five million one hundred and forty-eight thouſand quintals, or ſix hundred and forty-three thouſand five hundred quintals per annum; the nation therefore annually conſumed one hundred and ſixty-nine thouſand quintals.

In the interval between theſe two periods the importation, therefore, decreaſed annually, one year with another, ſixty-two thouſand ſeven hundred and fourſcore quintals, and the exportation one hundred and three thouſand nine hundred and fifty quintals; while the conſumption in England increaſed forty-one thouſand one hundred and ſeventy quintals every year.

The uſe of tobacco hath not decreaſed in Europe; the paſſion for this ſuperfluity hath even increaſed, notwithſtanding the heavy duties with which it hath been burthened by all governments. If the tobacco, furniſhed by North America be daily leſs ſought after among us, it is becauſe Holland, Alſatia, the Palatinate, and principally Ruſſia, have carried on this culture with great induſtry.

In 1769, Virginia and Maryland together ſold to the amount of 16,195,577 livres 4 ſols 7 deniers [about 674,815*l.* 14*s.* 4½*d.*] of their productions. Two thirds of this ſum belonged to the firſt of theſe ſettlements. Tobacco was the principal of theſe productions; ſince one of the colonies exported fifty-ſeven million three hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-five pounds weight of it; and the other, twenty-five million ſeven hundred and eighty-one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-nine pounds weight.

In Virginia, veſſels employed for the exportation of theſe productions do not find them collected in a ſmall number of ſtaples, as in the other commercial ſtates of the globe. They are obliged to form their cargo by detail from the plantations themſelves, which are ſituated at a greater or leſs diſtance from the ocean, upon navigable rivers, of one or two hundred miles in length. This cuſtom fatigues the navigators, and makes their voyage tedious. Great Britain, which is always attentive to the preſervation of her ſeamen, and is particularly careful of leſſening the number of their voyages, wiſhed, and even ordered, that ſome towns ſhould be built at the mouth of the rivers, where the productions of the province might be ſent. But neither inſinuations, nor the conſtraint of the laws, were of any avail. A few ſmall villages only were built, which could ſcarce fulfil even the leaſt part of the views of the mother country. Williamſburg itſelf hath no more than two thouſand inhabitants, though it be the reſidence of the governor, the place where the national aſſemblies and the courts of juſtice are holden, and where colleges are inſtituted; though it be decorated with the fineſt public edifices on the northern continent; and though it be the capital of the colony, ſince the ruin of James-town.

Men, who prefer the tranquillity of a rural life to the tumultuous abode of cities, ought naturally to be economi-

cal and laborious; but this was never the caſe in Virginia. Its inhabitants were always very expenſive in the furniture of their houſes; they were always fond of entertaining their neighbours with oſtentation. They always liked to diſplay the greateſt luxury before the Engliſh navigators, whom buſineſs brought to their plantations. They always gave themſelves up to that effeminacy, and to that negligence, ſo common in countries where ſlavery is eſtabliſhed. Accordingly, the engagements of the colony became habitually very conſiderable. At the beginning of the troubles, they were ſuppoſed to amount to 25,000,000 of livres [1,041,666l. 13s. 4d.] This prodigious ſum was due to the merchants of Great Britain, for negroes, or for other articles which they had furniſhed. The confidence of theſe bold lenders was particularly founded upon an unjuſt law, which ſecured their payment in preference to every other debt, though previouſly contracted.

The colony hath great powers to extricate itſelf from a ſituation apparently ſo deſperate. It will ſucceed, when more ſimplicity ſhall prevail in the manners, and more moderation in the expences; when availing itſelf of the reſources offered by an immenſe and fertile territory, it ſhall vary and improve its cultures; it will ſucceed, when it ſhall no longer receive from foreigners the moſt ordinary houſehold furniture, and that which is in moſt general uſe; when its manufactures ſhall no longer be confined to the employing of ſome ſmall quantities of cotton, which is of too indifferent a quality to be ſought for in the European manufactures; and when its public coffers, leſs plundered, and better regulated, ſhall admit of the diminution of the taxes, which are much more conſiderable in that province than in any other of this continent. Several of theſe counſels may concern the two Carolinas.

Origin of the two Carolinas. Their firſt and their laſt government, both civil and religious.

The vaſt country which theſe provinces occupy, was diſcovered by the Spaniards, ſoon after their firſt expeditions in the New World; they deſpiſed it, becauſe it did not offer any gold to their avarice. Admiral Coligny, more wiſe, and more able, opened there a ſource of induſtry to the French proteſtants; but fanaticiſm, which

purſued them, ruined their hopes by the aſſaſſination of this juſt, humane, and enlightened, man. They were ſucceeded by a few Engliſhmen towards the end of the ſixteenth century; who by an inexplicable caprice forſook this infant ſettlement, to go and cultivate a harſher ſoil, under a leſs temperate climate.

There was not a ſingle European ſeen in Carolina, when the lords Berkley, Clarendon, Albemarle, Craven, Aſhley, and Meſſrs. Carteret, Berkley, and Colleton, obtained from Charles II in 1663, a grant of this fine country. The plan of government for this new colony was drawn up by the famous Locke. A philoſopher, who was a friend to mankind, and to that moderation and juſtice which ſhould be the only rule of their actions, ought to have deſtroyed the very foundations of that fanaticiſm, which in all countries hath excited diviſions among them, and which will induce them to take up arms againſt each other to the end of time.

Intoleration, however horrid it may appear to us, is a neceſſary conſequence of the ſpirit of ſuperſtition. Will it not be acknowledged, that puniſhments ſhould be proportioned to the nature of offences? What crime then can be greater than that of infidelity, in the eyes of him who conſiders religion as the fundamental baſis of morality? According to theſe principles, the irreligious man is the common enemy of all ſociety; the breaker of the only tie that connects men with each other; the promoter of all the crimes that may eſcape the ſeverity of the laws. It is he who ſtifles every remorſe, who ſets the paſſions looſe from every reſtraint, and who keeps, as it were, a ſchool of wickedneſs. What! ſhall we lead to the gibbet an unfortunate man, whom indigence conceals upon the highway, who ruſhes out upon the traveller with a piſtol in his hand, and demands a ſmall pittance that may be neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of his wife and children, who may be expiring with miſery; and ſhall we pardon a robber infinitely more dangerous? We think meanly of the man who ſuffers his friend to be ill ſpoken of in his preſence; and ſhall we require that the religious man ſhall ſuffer the infidel to blaſpheme his Maker, his Father, and his Creator, with impunity? We muſt either admit that all faith is abſurd, or we muſt put up with intoleration as a neceſſary evil. St. Lewis

reaſoned very conſiſtently when he ſaid to Joinville, "if "thou ſhouldſt ever hear any one ſpeak ill of God, draw "thy ſword and ſtab him through the heart; I allow thee "to do it." So important it is in all countries, as we are aſſured is the caſe in China, that ſovereigns, and the depoſitaries of their authority, ſhould not be attached to any tenet, to any ſect, nor to any form, of religious worſhip.

Every thing induces us to imagine that ſuch was the opinion of Locke. But not daring to attack too openly the prejudices of the times, founded equally on virtues and vices, he wiſhed to conciliate them as much as could be conſiſtent with a principle dictated by reaſon and humanity. As the ſavage inhabitants of America, ſaid he, have no idea of a revelation, it would be the height of folly to torment them for their ignorance. Thoſe chriſtians who ſhould come to people the colony, would undoubtedly come in queſt of a liberty of conſcience, which prieſts and princes deny them in Europe: it would therefore not be conſiſtent with good faith to perſecute, after having received, them. The Jews and the pagans did not more deſerve to be rejected, for an infatuation which mildneſs and perſuaſion might have put a ſtop to.

Thus it was that the Engliſh philoſopher reaſoned with men whoſe minds were imbued and prejudiced with tenets which it had not yet been allowed to diſcuſs. Out of regard to their weakneſs, he placed the ſyſtem of toleration which he was eſtabliſhing under the following reſtriction: that every perſon above ſeventeen years of age, who ſhould claim the protection of the laws, ſhould cauſe his name to be regiſtered in ſome communion. This was a breach made in his ſyſtem. The liberty of conſcience admits of no kind of modification. This is an account which man owes to God alone. In whatever manner the magiſtrate may be made to interfere in it, it is an act of injuſtice. A deiſt could not poſſibly ſubſcribe to ſuch terms.

Civil liberty, however, was much leſs favoured by Locke. Whether this proceeded from motives of complaiſance for thoſe who employed him, a kind of meanneſs which we are averſe from ſuſpecting him of, or whether, being more of a metaphyſician than a ſtateſman, he had purſued philoſophy only in thoſe tracks which had been opened by Des Cartes and Leibnitz, it is certain, that the ſame man who

had diſſipated and deſtroyed ſo many errors in his theory concerning the origin of ideas, made but very feeble and uncertain advances in the paths of legiſlation. The author of a work, the permanency of which will render the glory of the French nation immortal, even when tyranny ſhall have broken all the ſprings, and all the monuments, of the genius of a people eſteemed by the whole world for ſo many brilliant and amiable qualities; even Monteſquieu himſelf did not perceive that he was making men for governments, inſtead of governments for men.

The code of Carolina, by a ſingularity not to be accounted for in an Engliſhman, and in a philoſopher, gave to the eight proprietors who founded the ſettlement, and to their heirs, not only all the rights of ſovereignty, but all the powers of legiſlation.

The firſt uſe theſe ſovereigns made of their authority was to create three orders of nobility. Thoſe to whom they gave no more than twelve thouſand acres of land were called barons; thoſe who received twenty-four thouſand were called caciques, and the title of landgrave was beſtowed on thoſe two who obtained fourſcore thouſand each. Theſe conceſſions could never be alienated in detail, and their fortunate poſſeſſors were alone to form the houſe of peers. The houſe of commons was compoſed of the repreſentatives of the towns and counties, but with privileges leſs conſiderable than in the mother country. The aſſembly was called a court palatine. Every tenant was obliged to pay annually 1 livre 2 ſols 6 deniers [11¼d.] per acre, but he was allowed to redeem this duty.

The progreſs of this great ſettlement was for too long a time impeded by powerful obſtacles.

The colony had from its origin been open indiſcriminately to all ſects, which had all enjoyed the ſame privileges. It had been underſtood, that this was the only way to make an infant ſtate acquire rapid and great proſperity. The members of the church of England being afterwards jealous of the non-conformiſts, wanted to exclude them from government, and even to oblige them to ſhut up the houſes where they performed divine ſervice. Theſe acts of folly and of violence were annulled in 1706 by the mother country, as being contrary to humanity, to juſtice, to reaſon, and to policy. From the colliſion of theſe opinions aroſe

cabals and tumults, which diverted the inhabitants from uſeful labours, and turned their attention to a multitude of abſurdities, which will be never ſo much deſpiſed as they deſerve to be.

Two wars, which were carried on againſt the ſavages, were almoſt as extravagant and as deſtructive of every improvement. All the wandering or fixed nations between the ocean and the Apalachian mountains, were attacked and maſſacred without any intereſt or motive; thoſe who eſcaped being put to the ſword, either ſubmitted or were diſperſed. In the meanwhile, a form of conſtitution ill arranged, was the principal cauſe of an almoſt general indolence. The lords who were proprietors, imbued with deſpotic principles, uſed their utmoſt efforts to eſtabliſh an arbitrary government. The coloniſts, on the other hand, who were not ignorant of the rights of mankind, exerted themſelves with equal warmth to avoid ſervitude. It was neceſſary either to eſtabliſh a new order of things, or to ſuffer, that a rich country, from which ſuch great advantages had been expected, ſhould remain in perpetual humiliation, miſery, and anarchy. The Britiſh ſenate at length took the reſolution, in 1728, to reſtore this fine country to the nation, and to grant to its firſt maſters 540,000 livres [22,500l.] in compenſation. Granville alone, from motives which are unknown to us, was left in poſſeſſion of his eighth ſhare, which was ſituated on the confines of Virginia: but even this part was not long before it recovered its independence. The Engliſh government, as it was already eſtabliſhed in the other provinces of the New World, was ſubſtituted to the whimſical arrangement, which, in times of extreme corruption, had been extorted from an indolent and weak monarch by inſatiable favourites. The country might then expect to proſper. It was divided into two diſtinct governments, under the names of North and South Carolina, in order to facilitate the adminiſtration of it.

Conformities between the two Carolinas.

The two countries united occupy more than four hundred thouſand miles upon the coaſt, and about two hundred thouſand miles in the inland parts. It is a plain, in general ſandy, which is rendered very marſhy by the overflowing of the rivers, and by heavy and frequent rains.

The ſoil doth not begin to riſe, till at the diſtance of fourſcore or a hundred miles from the ſea; and it continues riſing as far as the Apalachian mountains. Upon theſe latitudes, and in the midſt of pine trees, which are irregularly placed there by nature, a few ſheep, extremely degenerated, both in their fleſh and in their fleece, feed upon a ſtrong and coarſe graſs; there are alſo a number of horned cattle, who have not preſerved all their ſtrength and all their beauty; and an innumerable quantity of hogs, who appear to have improved.

The country is watered by a great number of rivers, ſome of which are navigable. They would be ſo for a longer ſpace, were it not for the rocks and the waterfalls which interrupt the navigation.

Though the climate be as variable as the reſt of North America, it is commonly agreeably temperate. A piercing cold is never felt but in the evening and morning, and there are ſeldom any exceſſive heats. Though fogs be frequent, they are at leaſt diſpelled in the middle of the day. Unfortunately, in the months of July, Auguſt, September, and October, intermittent fevers prevail in the plains, and are ſometimes fatal to the natives themſelves, and, too often, deſtroy foreigners.

Such is the natural organization of the two Carolinas; let us ſee what diſtinguiſhes them from each other.

What diſtinguiſhes North Carolina.

NORTH CAROLINA is one of the largeſt provinces of the continent; it unfortunately doth not offer advantages proportioned to its extent. Its ſoil is generally flatter, more ſandy, and more marſhy, than that of South Carolina. Theſe melancholy plains are covered with pines or cedars, which announce a barren ſoil; and are interſected at intervals by a ſmall number of oaks, too full of ſap to be employed in the conſtruction of ſhips. The coaſts, generally blocked up by a ſand bank, which keeps navigators at a diſtance, are not more favourable to population than the inland countries. Finally, the country is more expoſed than the neighbouring regions to the hurricanes that come from the ſouth-eaſt.

Theſe were undoubtedly the motives which prevented the Engliſh of North Carolina from ſettling there, though

that country was the firſt which they diſcovered in the New World. None of the numerous people who were driven to that part of the hemiſphere, either from inclination or neceſſity, carried there their miſery or their reſtleſſneſs. It was long after, that a few vagabonds, without friends, without laws, and without plan to fix themſelves, ſettled there. But, in proceſs of time, the lands in the other colonies became ſcarce, and then men who were not able to purchaſe them, betook themſelves to a country where they could get lands without purchaſe. According to the account of congreſs, three hundred thouſand ſouls, in which few ſlaves are included, are ſtill found in the province. There are but few of theſe inhabitants which are either Engliſh, Iriſh, or German. Moſt of them are of Scotch origin, and for this reaſon:

Theſe highlanders, whoſe character has been ſo boldly deſcribed by a maſterly hand, were never enſlaved either by the Romans, the Saxons, or the Danes. They bravely repulſed every invaſion, and no foreign cuſtoms could penetrate beyond the foot of their inacceſſible habitations. Separated from the reſt of the globe, they diſplayed in their manners the politeneſs of courts, without having any of their vices; their countenance ſhewed the pride with which the nobility of their origin had inſpired them; and they were poſſeſſed of all the delicacy of our point of honour, but without its ſuſpicious minutiæ. As induſtry had not transformed them into mere machines, and as the nature of their ſoil and climate did not require the labours of the fields for more than two ſeaſons in the year, they had a great deal of leiſure time, which they employed in war, in hunting, in dancing, or in converſations, animated by picturesque expreſſions, and original ideas. Moſt of them were muſicians. Schools were everywhere opened for the inſtruction of youth. Under every roof was found one hiſtorian, to recal to their minds great events, and a poet to celebrate them. The lakes, the foreſts, the caves, the cataracts, the majeſtic grandeur of all the objects that ſurrounded them, inſpired them with an elevation of mind, caſt a ſhade of melancholy over their characters, and kept up in their hearts a ſacred enthuſiaſm. Theſe people eſteemed themſelves, without deſpiſing other nations. Their aſpect ſtruck the civilized man with awe, in whom they only beheld one of their equals,

whatever title he might be decorated with. They received all foreigners who came to them with a ſimple and cordial affection. They kept a long time in their memory a reſentment for any injury offered to any of them; which was rendered common to them all by the ties of blood. After an engagement they dreſſed their enemies wounds before their own. As they were always armed, the habitual uſe of deſtructive weapons prevented them from having any fear of them. They believed in ſpirits; and if the lightning ſhone during the night, if thunder rolled over their heads, if the ſtorm rooted up the trees around their houſes, or ſhook their roofs, they imagined that it was ſome forgotten hero reproaching them for their ſilence: they then took up their inſtruments, and ſang a hymn to his honour; they aſſured him that his memory would never be forgotten among the children of men. They believed in preſages and in divination. They all ſubmitted to the eſtabliſhed form of worſhip; ſuperſtition never excited quarrels among them, nor cauſed the effuſion of one drop of blood.

Theſe manners were never altered; nor could they be ſo. The Scotch formed a great number of tribes, called *clans*; each of which bore a different name, and lived upon the eſtate of ſome particular lord. It was the hereditary patriarch of a family, from whom they all claimed their deſcent, and they all knew to what degree.

The caſtle was in ſome meaſure a common property, where every perſon was ſure of meeting with an honourable reception, and where they all reſorted upon the firſt rumour of war. They all revered their own dignity in their chief; they had a brotherly affection for the other members of the confederation. They all patiently ſupported their fate, becauſe it never had any thing humiliating in it. The head of the clan on his ſide, was the common father of them all, as well from gratitude as from intereſt.

This order of things ſubſiſted during a long ſeries of ages without the leaſt alteration. At laſt the noblemen contracted the habit of ſpending a great part of their lives in travelling, at London, or at court. Theſe repeated abſences detached from them their vaſſals, who ſaw them leſs frequently, and were no longer aſſiſted by them. Theſe men, who were no longer reſtrained by any tie of affection in their barren and ſavage mountains, then diſperſed them-

ſelves. Several of them went in ſearch of another country in divers provinces of America. The greateſt number took refuge in North Carolina.

Theſe coloniſts are ſeldom aſſembled together, and they are therefore the leaſt informed of the Americans, and the moſt indifferent to the public intereſt. Moſt of them live diſperſed upon their plantations, without ambition or foreſight. They are but little inclined to labour, and they are ſeldom good planters. Though they have the Engliſh form of government, the laws have very little force among them. Their domeſtic are better than their ſocial manners; and there is ſcarce an inſtance of any one of them having had any connection with a ſlave. Their food conſiſts of pork, milk, and maize, and they can be accuſed of no other kind of intemperance than an inordinate paſſion for ſpiritous liquors.

The firſt unfortunate people whom chance diſperſed along theſe ſavage coaſts confined themſelves to the cutting of wood, which they delivered to the navigators, who came to purchaſe it. In a ſhort time they collected from the pine tree, which covered the country, turpentine, tar, and pitch. To collect the turpentine, it was ſufficient to make inciſions in the trunk of the tree, which being carried on to the foot of it, terminated in veſſels placed there to receive it. When they wanted tar, they raiſed a circular platform of potter's earth, on which they laid piles of pines; to theſe they ſet fire, and the reſin diſtilled from them into caſks placed underneath. The tar was converted into pitch, either in great iron pots, in which they boiled it, or in pits formed of potter's earth, into which it was poured while in a fluid ſtate. In proceſs of time, the province was enabled to furniſh Europe with hides, a ſmall quantity of wax, a few furs, ten or twelve millions weight of an inferior kind of tobacco; and the Weſt-Indies, with a great quantity of ſalt pork, maize, dried vegetables, a ſmall quantity of indifferent flour, and ſeveral objects of leſs importance. The exportations of the colony did not however, exceed twelve or fifteen hundred thouſand livres [from 50,000l. to 62,500l.]

North Carolina hath not yet attended to the exportation of its own productions. What its ſoil furniſhes to the New Hemiſphere hath been hitherto taken away by the na-

vigators of the north of America, who brought in exchange rum, of which it hath ſtill continued to make an immenſe conſumption. The articles which the colony delivers to the Old World, have paſſed through the hands of the Engliſh, who ſupplied it with clothes, inſtruments for agriculture, and ſome negroes.

Through the whole extent of the coaſts, there is no port but that of Brunſwick, which can receive the veſſels deſtined for thoſe tranſactions. Thoſe which draw no more than ſixteen feet water anchor at that town, which is built almoſt at the mouth of the river of Cape Fear, towards the ſouthern extremity of the province. Wilmington, its capital, ſituated higher up upon the ſame river, admits only much ſmaller veſſels.

What diſtinguiſhes South Carolina.

South Carolina furniſhes to the trade of both hemiſpheres as well as North Carolina, but in leſs quantity. Its labours have been chiefly turned towards rice and indigo.

Rice is a plant very much reſembling wheat in ſhape and colour, and in the figure and diſpoſition of its leaves. The panicle which terminates the ſtem is compoſed of ſmall flowers, diſtinct from each other, which have four unequal ſcales, ſix ſtamina, and one piſtil, ſurrounded with two ſtyles. This piſtil becomes a white ſeed, extremely farinaceous, covered with two interior ſcales, which are larger, yelloviſh, covered with light aſperities, and furniſhed with ſeveral ſalient coſtæ, the middle one of which terminates in an elongated extremity. This plant thrives only in low, damp, and marſhy lands, when they are even a little overflowed. The period of its diſcovery is traced to the remoteſt antiquity.

Egypt, unfortunately for itſelf firſt attended to it. The pernicious effect of this culture rendered the country the moſt unhealthy in the known world; conſtantly raviſhed by epedemical diſorders, and afflicted with cutaneous diſeaſes, which paſſed from that region to the others, where they have been perpetuated during whole centuries, and where they have only been put a ſtop to by the contrary cauſe to that which had occaſioned them, to-wit, the drying up of the marſhes, and the reſtoring of ſalubrity to the

air and to the waters. China and the East-Indies muſt experience the ſame calamities, if art doth not oppoſe preſervatives to nature, whoſe benefits are ſometimes accompanied with evils, or if the heat of the torrid zone doth not quickly diſpel the damp and malignant vapours which are exhaled from the rice grounds. It is a known fact, that in the rice grounds of the Milaneſe, the cultivators are all livid and dropſical.

Opinions differ about the manner in which rice hath been naturalized in Carolina. But whether the province may have acquired it by a ſhipwreck, or whether it may have been carried there with ſlaves, or whether it be ſent from England, it is certain that the ſoil ſeemed favourable for it. It multiplied, however, very ſlowly, becauſe the coloniſts, who were obliged to ſend their harveſts into the ports of the mother country, by which they were ſent into Spain and Portugal, where they were conſumed, acquired ſo ſmall a profit from their productions, that it was ſcarcely ſufficient to defray the expences of cultivation. In 1730, a more enlightened adminiſtration permitted the direct exportation of this grain beyond Cape Finiſterre. Some years afterwards it was allowed to be carried to the Weſt-Indies; and then the provinces, being ſure of ſelling the good rice advantageouſly in Europe, and the inferior or ſpoiled rice in America, attended ſeriouſly to the cultivation of it. This production grows, by the care of the negroes, in the moraſſes which are near the coaſts. At a great diſtance from the ocean, indigo is cultivated by the ſame hands, but with leſs danger.

This plant, which originally comes from Indoſtan, ſucceeded at firſt at Mexico, afterwards at the Antilles, and laſtly in South Carolina. The firſt experiments made in this province yielded only a produce of an exceedingly inferior quality; but this dye acquires daily a greater degree of perfection. Its cultivators do not even deſpair of ſupplanting, in time, the Spaniards and the French in all the markets. Their hopes are founded upon the extent of their ſoil, upon the abundance and cheapneſs of ſubſiſtence, and eſpecially upon the cuſtom which they have of ploughing their grounds with animals, and of ſowing the indigo in them in the ſame manner as corn; while, on the contrary, in the Weſt-Indies they are the ſlaves who prepare

the grounds, and who throw the ſeed into holes, diſpoſed at different diſtances to receive it.

If, contrary to all probability, this revolution in trade ſhould ever happen, South Carolina, which at preſent reckons two hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants, half white people and half negroes, and the exportations of which, including thoſe of North Carolina, amounted, in the year 1769, to 10,601,336 livres, [44,722l. 6s. 8d.] would ſoon double its population and its cultures. It is already the richeſt of all the provinces of the northern continent. Accordingly, the taſte for the conveniencies of life is generally prevalent, and the expences are carried as far as luxury. This magnificence was more particularly remarked ſome time ago in the funerals. As many citizens as it was poſſible to collect were aſſembled at them; expenſive diſhes were ſerved up, and the moſt exquiſite wines and the ſcarceſt liquors were laviſhed. To the plate which the family had, was added that of the relations, the neighbours, and the friends. It was common to ſee fortunes either much encroached upon, or even deranged, by theſe obſequies. The ſanguinary and ruinous conteſts between the mother country and the colonies have put a ſtop to theſe profuſions, but without aboliſhing a cuſtom perhaps ſtill more extravagant.

From the origin of the ſettlement, the miniſters of religion adopted the cuſtom of pronouncing indiſcriminately, in the churches, an eulogium upon every one of their flock after death. The praiſe was never in proportion to the actions and virtues of the deceaſed, but to the greater or leſs reward which they were to receive for the funeral oration. So that while, in our countries, the catholic prieſts were making a traffic of prayer, the clergy of the church of England were carrying on, in the other hemiſphere, the more odious traffic of the praiſes of the dead.

Could there be a more effectual method of degrading virtue, of diminiſhing the horror of vice, and of corrupting in men's minds the true notions of each? Could there be any thing more ſcandalous to a whole chriſtian audience, than the impudence of an orator, of a preacher of the goſpel, extolling a citizen who had been abhorred for his avarice, his cruelty, and his debauchery; a bad father, an ungrateful ſon, or married perſons who had led a life of

diſſoluteneſs; and placing in heaven thoſe whom the Almighty Judge had precipitated into the depth of the infernal regions?

South Carolina hath only three cities worthy of being called ſo; and theſe are alſo ports.

Georgetown, ſituated at the mouth of the Black river, is ſtill very inconſiderable; but its ſituation muſt render it one day more important.

Beaufort, or Port Royal, will never emerge from a ſtate of mediocrity, though its road be capable of receiving and ſecuring the largeſt ſhips.

It is Charleſtown, the capital of the colony, which is at preſent the moſt important ſtaple, and which muſt neceſſarily become ſtill more ſo.

The channel which leads up to it is full of breakers, and embarraſſed with a ſand bank: but with the aſſiſtance of a good pilot, a ſhip arrives ſafely in the harbour. It can receive three hundred ſail, and ſhips of three hundred and fifty or four hundred tons burthen can enter it at all times, with their entire cargo.

The town occupies a great ſpace, at the confluence of the two navigable rivers, Aſhley and Cooper. Its ſtreets are very regular, and moſt of them large; it hath two thouſand convenient houſes, and a few public buildings, which would be reckoned handſome even in Europe. The double advantage which Charleſtown enjoys, of being the ſtaple for the productions of the colony which are to be exported, and of all the foreign merchandize that can be conſumed there, keeps up a conſtant activity in it, and hath ſucceſſively been the cauſe of making ſome conſiderable fortunes.

The two Carolinas are ſtill very far from attaining to that degree of ſplendour to which they have a right to aſpire. North Carolina doth not cultivate all the productions of which its ſoil is ſuſceptible, and thoſe which it ſeems to attend a little to, are in a manner left to chance. The inhabitants of South Carolina are more intelligent and more active: but they have not yet found out, in ſuch a manner ſufficiently, how far they might improve their fortunes by the culture of the above tree, and of ſilk. Neither of theſe provinces have cleared one quarter of their territory which may be uſefully employed. This labour is reſerved for fu-

ture generations, and for an increaſe of population. Then, undoubtedly, ſome kind of induſtry will be eſtabliſhed in provinces, where there would not exiſt the leaſt appearance of any, if the French refugees had not brought a linen manufactory to them.

By whom, upon what occaſion, and in what manner, Georgia was founded.

BETWEEN Carolina and Florida, there is a ſlip of land, which extends ſixty miles along the ſea-ſide, which acquires, by degrees, a breadth of one hundred and fifty miles, and hath three hundred miles in depth, as far as the Apalachian mountains. This country is limited on the north by the Savannah river, and to the ſouth by the river Alatamaha.

The Engliſh miniſtry had been long deſirous of erecting a colony on this tract of country, that was conſidered as dependent upon Carolina. One of thoſe inſtances of benevolence, which liberty, the ſource of every patriotic virtue, renders more frequent in England than in any other country, ſerved to determine the views of government with regard to this place. A rich and humane citizen, at his death, left the whole of his eſtate to ſet at liberty ſuch inſolvent debtors as were detained in priſon by their creditors. Where ſhall we find, either in France or in other parts, any perſon who ſhall thus propoſe to expiate a long abuſe of proſperity? Several will die, after having ſquandered away millions, without being able to recollect one good action they have done. Several will die, and will leave behind them, to heirs who are anxious for their death, treaſures acquired by uſury and concuſſion, without repairing, by ſome honourable and uſeful inſtitution, the crime of their opulence. Is it then one of the neceſſary effects of gold, to harden the heart to the laſt, and to ſtifle remorſe; ſince there is ſcarce any that who hath known how to make a good uſe of it during his life; ſcarce any man who has employed it in procuring tranquillity to himſelf in his laſt moments? Prudential reaſons of policy concurred in the performance of this will dictated by humanity; and the government gave orders, that ſuch unhappy priſoners as were releaſed ſhould be tranſplanted into that deſert country, that was now intended to be peo-

pled. It was named Georgia, in honour of the reigning ſovereign.

This inſtance of reſpect, the more pleaſing, as it was not the effect of flattery; and the execution of a deſign of ſo much real advantage to the ſtate, were entirely the work of the nation. The parliament added 225,000 livres [9,375*l.*] to the eſtate left by the will of the citizen; and a voluntary ſubſcription produced a much more conſiderable ſum. General Oglethorpe, a man who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the houſe of commons by his taſte for great deſigns, by his zeal for his country, and his paſſion for glory, was fixed upon to direct theſe public finances, and to carry into execution ſo excellent a project. Deſirous of maintaining the reputation he had acquired, he choſe to conduct himſelf the firſt coloniſts that were ſent to Georgia; where he arrived in January 1733, and fixed his people on a ſpot ten miles diſtant from the ſea, in an agreeable and fertile plain on the banks of the Savannah. The river gave its name to this feeble ſettlement, which might one day become the capital of a flouriſhing colony. It conſiſted at firſt of no more than one hundred perſons; but before the end of the year the number was increaſed to ſix hundred and eighteen, of whom one hundred and twenty-ſeven had emigrated at their own expence. Three hundred men, and one hundred and thirteen women, one hundred and two lads, and eighty-three girls, formed the beginning of this new population, and the hopes of a numerous poſterity.

This ſettlement was increaſed in 1735 by the arrival of ſome Scotch highlanders. Their national courage induced them to accept an eſtabliſhment offered them upon the borders of the Alatamaha, to defend the colony, if neceſſary, againſt the attacks of the neighbouring Spaniards. Here they built the town of Darien, five leagues diſtant from the iſland of St. Simon, where the hamlet of Frederica was already eſtabliſhed.

In the ſame year, a great number of proteſtants, driven out of Saltzburg by a fanatical prieſt, embarked for Georgia, to enjoy peace and liberty of conſcience. Ebenezer, ſituated upon the river Savannah, fixteen leagues from the ocean, owed its riſe to theſe victims of an odious ſuperſtition.

Some Switzers followed the example of theſe wiſe Saltzburgers, though they had not, like them, been perſecuted. They alſo ſettled on the bank of the Savannah, but three leagues lower, and upon a ſpot which ſubjected them to the laws of Carolina. Their colony, conſiſting of a hundred habitations, was named Puryſburg, from Pury their founder, who having been at the expence of their ſettlement, was deſervedly choſen their chief, in teſtimony of their gratitude to him.

In theſe four or five colonies, ſome men were found more inclined to trade than agriculture. Theſe, therefore, ſeparated from the reſt, in order to build the city of Auguſta, one hundred and forty-five miles diſtant from the ocean. The goodneſs of the ſoil was not the object they had in view; but they wiſhed to ſhare with Virginia and the Carolinas the peltries which theſe provinces obtained from the Creeks, the Chickaſaws, and the Cherokees, which were the moſt numerous ſavage nations of this continent. Their project was ſo ſucceſsful, that as early as the year 1739, ſix hundred people were employed in this commerce. The ſale of theſe furs was with much greater facility carried on, from the circumſtance of the Savannah admitting, during the greateſt part of the year, ſhips from twenty to thirty tons burthen as far as the walls of Auguſta.

The mother country ought, one would imagine, to have formed great expectations from a colony which had received, in a very ſhort ſpace of time, five thouſand inhabitants, which had coſt the treaſury 1,485,000 livres [61,875l.] and the zealous patriots a great deal more. What muſt not, therefore, have been their aſtoniſhment, when, in 1741, they were informed, that moſt of the unfortunate people who had fought an aſylum in Georgia had ſucceſſively withdrawn themſelves from it; and that the few who remained there ſeemed only deſirous to ſix in a leſs inſupportable ſpot? The reaſons of this ſingular event were inquired into, and diſcovered.

Impediments that have prevented the progreſs of Georgia.

This colony, even in its origin, brought with it the ſeeds of its decay. The government, together with the property of Georgia, had been ceded to individ-

uals. The example of Carolina ought to have prevented this imprudent ſcheme; but nations, any more than individuals, do not learn inſtruction from their paſt miſconduct. Facts are generally unknown; and if they ſhould not be, ſtill bad conſequences are imputed to unable predeceſſors, or elſe ſome trifling difference in circumſtances, or in ſome frivolous precautions, afford a pretence for giving a falſe colouring to meaſures that are faulty in themſelves. Hence it happens, that an enlightened government, though checked by the watchful eye of the people, is not always able to guard againſt every miſuſe of its confidence. The Engliſh miniſtry, therefore, ſacrificed the public intereſt to the rapacious views of intereſted individuals.

The firſt uſe which the proprietors of Georgia made of the unlimited power they were inveſted with, was to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of legiſlation, that made them entirely maſters, not only of the police, juſtice, and finances, of the country, but even of the lives and eſtates of its inhabitants. Every ſpecies of right was withdrawn from the people, who are the original poſſeſſors of every right. Obedience was required of them, though contrary to their intereſt and knowledge; and it was conſidered as their duty and their fate.

As great inconveniencies had been found to ariſe in other colonies from large poſſeſſions, it was thought proper in Georgia to allow each family only fifty acres of land at firſt, and never more than five hundred, which they were not permitted to mortgage, or even to diſpoſe of by will to their female iſſue. This laſt regulation, of making only the male iſſue capable of inheritance, was ſoon abolished; but there ſtill remained too many obſtacles to excite a ſpirit of emulation.

When a man is neither purſued by the laws, nor driven away to avoid ignominy, nor tormented by religious tyranny, by the perſecutions of his creditors, by ſhame or miſery, or by the want of every kind of reſource in his own country, he doth not renounce his relations, his friends, and his fellow-citizens; he doth not baniſh himſelf, he doth not croſs the ſeas, he doth not go in ſearch of a diſtant land, unleſs he be attracted there by hopes which are more powerful than the allurements of his native

ſoil, than the value he ſets upon his exiſtence, and the dangers to which he expoſes himſelf. To go on-board of ſhip, in order to be landed on an unknown region, is the act of a deſperate man, unleſs the imagination be influenced by the proſpect of ſome great happineſs; a proſpect which the leaſt alarm will diſſipate. If the vague and unlimited confidence the emigrant hath in his induſtry, in which his whole fortune conſiſts, be ſhaken by any means whatever, he will remain upon the ſhore. Such muſt neceſſarily have been the effect of the boundaries aſſigned to every plantation. Several other errors ſtill affected the original plan of this country, and prevented its increaſe.

The taxes impoſed upon the moſt fertile of the Engliſh colonies are very inconſiderable, and even theſe are not levied till the ſettlements have acquired ſome degree of vigour and proſperity. From its infant ſtate, Georgia had been ſubjected to the fines of a feudal government, with which it had been, as it were, fettered. The revenues raiſed by this kind of ſervice muſt have increaſed beyond meaſure in proceſs of time. The founders of it, blinded by a ſpirit of avidity, did not perceive, that the ſmalleſt duty impoſed upon a populous and flouriſhing province would much ſooner enrich them, than the heavieſt taxes laid upon a barren and uncultivated country.

To this ſpecies of oppreſſion was added an arrangement which became a freſh cauſe of inactivity. The diſorders which were the conſequence of the uſe of ſpirituous liquors throughout all the continent of North America, occaſioned the importation of rum to be prohibited in Georgia. This prohibition, however laudable the motive for it might be, deprived the coloniſts of the only drink which could correct the bad effects of the water of the country, which they found everywhere unhealthy, and of the only means they had of repairing their ſtrength, exhauſted by continual perſpiration. It alſo ſecluded them from the trade of the Weſt-Indies, where they were no more allowed to exchange for theſe liquors the wood, the ſeeds, and the cattle, which ought to have conſtituted their firſt riches.

Weak as theſe reſources were, they muſt have increaſed very ſlowly, on account of a prohibition which would be

ſerve recommendation, had it been dictated by a ſentiment of humanity, and not by policy. The planters of Georgia were not allowed the uſe of ſlaves. Other colonies having been eſtabliſhed without their aſſiſtance, it was thought that a country, deſtined to be the bulwark of thoſe poſſeſſions, ought not to be peopled by a ſet of ſlaves, who could not be in the leaſt intereſted in the defence of their oppreſſors. But would this prohibition have taken place, had it been foreſeen that coloniſts, who were leſs favoured by the mother country than their neighbours, who were ſituated in a country leſs ſuſceptible of culture, and in a hotter climate, would want ſtrength and ſpirit to undertake a cultivation that required greater encouragement?

The demands of the people, and the refuſals of the government, may be equally extravagant. The people liſten only to their wants, and ſovereigns conſult only their perſonal intereſt. The former, commonly very indifferent, eſpecially in diſtant countries, with reſpect to the powers to which they belong, and thoſe which they may receive by an invaſion, neglect their political ſecurity, in order to attend only to their perſonal welfare. The latter, on the contrary, will never heſitate between the felicity of the people, and the ſolidity of their poſſeſſions; and will always prefer a ſteady and permanent authority over a ſet of miſerable beings, to an uncertain and precarious ſway over men who are happy. Their miſtruſt, which a long ſeries of vexations hath too well juſtified, will induce them to conſider the people as ſlaves, ever ready to eſcape from them by revolt or by flight; and it will not enter into the thoughts of any one of them, that this habitual ſentiment of hatred, which they ſuppoſe to exiſt againſt them becauſe they have deſerved it, and which is but too real, would be extinguiſhed, if they could experience a few years of a mild and paternal adminiſtration; for nothing is alienated with ſo much difficulty as the affection of the people. It is founded on the advantages rarely felt, but always acknowledged, of a ſupreme authority, whatever it may be, which directs, which is watchful, which protects, and which defends. For the ſame reaſon, nothing is more eaſily recovered, when alienated. The deluſive hope of a change for the better is alone ſufficient to quiet our imagination, and

to prolong our miſeries without end. What I here advance is confirmed by the almoſt univerſal example of the whole world. At the death of a tyrant all nations flatter themſelves with the hopes of a king. The tyrants continue their ſyſtem of oppreſſion, and die in peace; and the people ſtill continue to groan under it, and to expect with patience a king who never appears. The ſucceſſor, educated as his father or his grandfather, is prepared from his infancy to model himſelf after their example, unleſs he ſhould have received from nature a ſtrength of genius, a firmneſs of ſoul, a rectitude of judgment, and a fund of benevolence and equity, which may correct the defect of his education. Without this fortunate diſpoſition, he will not inquire, in any circumſtance, what is proper to be done, but what hath been done before him. He will not aſk what is moſt ſuitable to the good of his ſubjects, whom he will conſider as his neareſt enemies, on account of the parade of guards that ſurround him; but he will ſtudy what will increaſe his depotiſm and their ſervitude. He will remain ignorant during life of the moſt ſimple and moſt evident of truths; which is, that their ſtrength and his are inſeparable from each other. The example of the paſt will be his only rule of conduct, both on thoſe occaſions when it may be prudent to follow it, and on thoſe it would be proper to deviate from it. The meaſure which the miniſtry will adopt in politics, will always be that which ſhall be moſt analogous to the ſpirit of tyranny, the only one which has been decorated with the title of the great art of governing. When, therefore, the inhabitants of Georgia aſked for ſlaves, in order to know whether they ſhould have been granted or refuſed to them, it was only neceſſary to examine whether they were required for the better cultivation of the lands, and the greater ſecurity of the property of the colony.

In the meanwhile, the truly deſperate ſituation of the new ſettlement proclaimed too forcibly the imprudence of the miniſtry, to make it poſſible to perſevere in ſuch fatal meaſures. At length the province received the ſame form of government which made the other colonies proſper. When it ceaſed to be a fief belonging to individuals, it became a truly national poſſeſſion.

Situation and expectations of Georgia.

SINCE this fortunate revolution, Georgia hath improved conſiderably, though not ſo rapidly as was expected. It is true, that neither the vine, the olive-tree, nor ſilk, have been cultivated, as the mother country wiſhed; but its marſhes have furniſhed a tolerable quantity of rice; and indigo, ſuperior in quality to that of Carolina, hath been produced upon the higher grounds. Before the 1ſt January 1768, a grant had been made of ſix hundred thirty-ſeven thouſand one hundred and ſeventy acres of land. Thoſe which, in 1763, were worth no more than 3 livres 7 ſols 6 deniers [2s. 9¼d.] were ſold in 1776 for 67 livres 10 ſols [2l. 16s. 3d.] In 1769, the exportations of the colony amounted to 1,625,418 livres 9 ſols 5 deniers [about 67,725l. 15s. 4¼d.] and ſince that time they have conſiderably increaſed.

This proſperity will undoubtedly be augmented. In proportion as the foreſts ſhall be felled, the air will become more ſalubrious, and the productions will increaſe with the population, which at preſent doth not exceed thirty thouſand men, moſt of whom are ſlaves. However, as the lands are not ſo extenſive in Georgia as in moſt of the other provinces, and that in the ſame proportion leſs of them are ſuſceptible of culture, the riches of that colony will always be limited. Let us ſee whether Florida hath a right to expect a more brilliant deſtiny.

Florida becomes a Spaniſh poſſeſſion.

UNDER this name the ambition of Spain comprehended formerly all that tract of land in America, which extended from the gulf of Mexico to the moſt northern regions. But fortune, which ſports with the vanity of nations, hath long ſince confined this unlimited denomination to the peninſula formed by the ſea, between Georgia and Louiſiana.

It was Luke Velaſquès, whoſe memory ought to be holden in execration in this world, as he deſerves to be puniſhed in the next; it was that monſter, to whom I can ſcarce give the name of man, who firſt landed upon this region, with the intention of obtaining ſlaves either by ſtratagem or by force. The novelty of the ſpectacle attracted the neighbouring ſavages. They were invited to come on-board the ſhips; they were intoxicated, put in

irons, and the anchor was weighed, while the guns were fired upon the reſt of the Indians, who remained upon the ſhore. Several of theſe unfortunate people, ſo cruelly torn from their own country, refuſed to take the food which was offered them, and periſhed from inanition. Others died of grief; and thoſe who ſurvived their deſpair, were buried in the mines of Mexico.

Theſe inſatiable gulfs required more victims. The perfidious Velaſquès went in ſearch of them again in the ſame country. He was known, and half of his infamous companions were murdered on their arrival. Thoſe who fled from a juſtly implacable enemy, were ſhipwrecked; he himſelf only eſcaped the fury of the waves, to lead the remainder of his deteſted life in ſhame, miſery, and remorſe.

Spain had forgotten that part of the New World, when the memory of it was revived by a ſettlement made there by the French. The court of Madrid thought proper to drive from their rich poſſeſſions ſo active a nation; and they accordingly gave orders for the deſtruction of the infant colony. This command was put in execution in 1565; and the conquerors re-occupied the place, which was rendered an abſolute deſert by their cruelties. They were threatened with a lingering death, when they were relieved by the culture of ſaſſafras.

This tree, which is an evergreen, is peculiar to America, and is better at Florida than in any other part of that hemiſphere. It grows equally on the borders of the ſea and upon the mountains, but always in a ſoil which is neither too dry nor too damp. Its roots are even with the ſurface of the ground. Its trunk, which is very ſtraight, without leaves, and not high, is covered with a thick and dirty bark, of an aſh colour, and throws out at its ſummit ſome branches which ſpread out on the coaſts. The leaves are diſpoſed alternately, green on the upper, and white on the under, ſurface, and are divided into three lobes. Sometimes they are found entire, eſpecially in young plants. The branches are terminated by cluſters of ſmall yellow flowers. They are of the ſame kind as thoſe of the laurel or cinnamon tree. The fruits, which ſucceed, are ſmall, blue, pendent, berries, fixed to a red pedicle, and to a calix of the ſame colour.

Its flower is taken in infuſion, as mullein and tea is.

The decoction of its root is uſed with effect in intermittent fevers. The bark of the trunk hath an acrid and aromatic taſte, and a ſmell ſimilar to that of fennel and aniſeed. The wood is whitiſh and leſs odoriferous. They are both uſed in medicine to promote perſpiration, to attenuate thick and viſcid humours, to remove obſtructions, to cure the gout and the palſy. Saſſafras was alſo formerly much preſcribed in the venereal diſeaſe.

The firſt Spaniards who ſettled there would probably have fallen a ſacrifice to this laſt diſorder, at leaſt they would not have recovered from thoſe dangerous fevers with which moſt of them were attacked on their arrival in Florida, either in conſequence of the food of the country, or of the badneſs of the waters. But the ſavages taught them, that by drinking faſting, and at their meals, water in which the root of ſaſſafras had been boiled, they might depend upon a ſpeedy recovery. The experiment, upon trial, proved ſucceſsful.

What can be the reaſon that this medicine and ſo many others which produce extraordinary cures in thoſe diſtant countries, ſeem to have loſt almoſt all their efficacy when tranſplanted into ours? It muſt probably be owing to the climate being more favourable for perſpiration, to the nature of the plant which degenerates and loſes ſome part of its ſtrength during a long voyage, and eſpecially to the nature of the diſeaſe, when joined to our intemperate way of living; and the obſtinacy of which increaſes from the numberleſs diſorders prevailing in our conſtitutions.

The Spaniards eſtabliſhed ſome ſmall poſts at San Matheo, at Saint Marc, and at Saint Joſeph; but it was only Saint Auguſtine and at Penſacola that they properly formed ſettlements; the former on their arrival in the country, and the latter in 1696.

Penſacola was attacked and taken by the French during the ſhort conteſts which divided the two houſes of Bourbon in 1718; but it was ſoon reſtored.

In 1740, the Engliſh beſieged the former of theſe ſettlements in vain. The Scotch highlanders, in endeavouring to cover the retreat of the aſſailants, were beaten and ſlain. One of their ſerjeants only was ſpared by the ſavage Indians, who, while they were fighting for the Spaniards, reſerved him to undergo thoſe torments which they inflict

upon their priſoners. This man, it is ſaid, on ſeeing the horrid tortures that awaited him, addreſſed the blood-thirſty multitude in the following manner:

"Heroes and patriarchs of the weſtern world, you were "not the enemies that I ſought for; but you have at laſt "been the conquerors. The chance of war has thrown "me in your power. Make what uſe you think proper of "the right of conqueſt. This is a right I do not call in "queſtion. But as it is cuſtomary in my country to offer "a ranſom for one's life, liſten to a propoſal not unworthy "of your notice.

"Know then, valiant Americans, that in the country "of which I am a native, there are ſome men who poſſeſs "a ſuperior knowledge of the ſecrets of nature. One of "thoſe ſages, connected to me by the ties of kindred, im- "parted to me, when I became a ſoldier, a charm to make "me invulnerable. You muſt have obſerved how I have "eſcaped all your darts. Without ſuch a charm would it "have been poſſible for me to have ſurvived all the mortal "blows you have aimed at me? For I appeal to your own "valour, to teſtify that mine has ſufficiently exerted itſelf, "and has not avoided any danger. Life is not ſo much "the object of my requeſt, as the glory of communicating "to you a ſecret of ſo much conſequence to your ſafety, "and of rendering the moſt valiant nation upon the earth "invincible. Suffer me only to have one of my hands at "liberty, in order to perform the ceremonies of enchant- "ment, of which I will now make trial on myſelf before "you."

The Indians liſtened with eagerneſs to this diſcourſe, which was flattering both to their warlike character, and their turn for the marvellous. After a ſhort conſultation, they untied one of the priſoner's arms. The highlander begged that they would put his broad ſword into the hands of the moſt expert and ſtouteſt man among them; and at the ſame time laying bare his neck, after having rubbed it, and muttering ſome words accompanied with magic ſigns, he cried aloud with a cheerful countenance, "Obſerve now, "O valiant Indians, an inconteſtible proof of my honeſty. "Thou warrior, who now holdeſt my keen cutting wea- "pon, do thou now ſtrike with all thy ſtrength: far from

" being able to ſever my head from my body, thou wilt " not even wound the ſkin of my neck."

He had ſcarcely ſpoken theſe words, when the Indian aiming the moſt violent blow, ſtruck off the head of the ſerjeant, to the diſtance of twenty feet. The ſavages aſtoniſhed, ſtood motionleſs, viewing the bloody corpſe of the ſtranger; and then turned their eyes upon one another, as if to reproach each other with their blind credulity. But admiring the artifice the priſoner had made uſe of to avoid the torture by haſtening his death, they beſtowed on his body the funeral honours of their country. If this fact, the date of which is too recent to admit of credit, has not all the marks of authenticity it ſhould have, it will only be one falſehood more to be added to the accounts of travellers.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

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